



WILLELM CONQUESTOR

Rex Anglorum

A.D. 1066.



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THE
L I F E
O F

William the Conqueror,
DUKE OF NORMANDY,
AND
KING OF ENGLAND.

BY
ANDREW HENDERSON,
Author of the Life of the Earl of STAIR.



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To His Most Sacred MAJESTY
King GEORGE III.

This LIFE of
William the Conqueror

IS DEDICATED

With the profoundest Respect and Regard,

BY

His MAJESTY's most obedient,

Most faithful, most humble,

Most loyal, Subject and Servant,

And. Henderson.

TO HIS MAJESTY

KING GEORGE III.

THE LIFE OF

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

AS DELIVERED

WITH THE PROLOGUE OF THE POET

BY

HIS MAJESTY'S most obedient

Most humble, most humble

Most humble, most humble

And Hordalen.

P R E F A C E.

AT a time when so many Histories of England are appearing in public, it may seem a little surprizing that a Life of WILLIAM the Conqueror should come forth, differing almost from the whole of these productions, and from none more than from the Complete History of England wrote by Tobias Smollett, the parent and contriver of that unparallelled work the Critical Review; a work in which his History has been introduced into the world by such a flow of words, and such exuberance of language, that one would be tempted to conclude that the recommendation had dropt from the doctor's own original quill; for if that author conceived an unprovoked antipathy against me, for no other reason, it would seem, but because my account of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland's proceedings in Scotland differed widely from what he published in his voluminous annals, what quarter may be expected now from him, or his votaries, who have wickedly,
A 3 wantonly,

wantonly, and without cause, lashed personal characters, in order to hinder the sale of their compositions. Of this I shall give one instance. On the 29th of December 1758, my Memoirs of Marshal Keith appeared in public; Smollett's Review condemned them by wholesale, and expressly averred, that they were as applicable to count Daun as to marshal Keith (*mutatis mutandis*) just as if count Daun had been a Scotsman, the son of the earl marshal of Scotland, had studied at Aberdeen, or, if you will, had been killed at the battle of Hochkirchen, fighting against the empress queen. However, this ungenteel and undeserved censure did not hinder the work from being regarded; for in the January following, the Memoirs of Marshal Keith, said to be collected from authentic materials only, were inserted in the Grand Magazine almost *verbatim* from my performance: so that if the learned doctor do lash what is wrote in these sheets, I may solace myself with seeing the whole at full length published in some periodical paper, though without the least mention of the fountain from whence they were taken. My Life of the Earl of Stair was pirated by the editor of the British Plutarch, servilely inserted in the 12th volume of that collection, and with an amazing modesty dedicated to his

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his majesty king George III. I am sorry that the publisher of these was not more careful to correct the mistakes that had crept into it; for though I had a very good opportunity to know much of his lordship, when tutor to the countess of Stair's nephew, and to the son of colonel Young, that nobleman's aid de camp, yet there were erroneous paragraps in it, which I intend to expunge in another edition, now preparing for the press.

My account of the transactions in the year 1745 were likewise pilfered by the famous doctor Walker, under the name of the Adventures of Young Juba; though it must be owned that the first enemy was the most generous, as he frequently referred to my performance, and spoke honourably of it and of me. However, to fortify myself against Smollett and his votaries, the reader will be informed, that in the compiling of this work, I have had recourse to Selden's *Anua Anglorum*, Spelman's *Glossarium*, *Sylas Taylor's History of Gavelkynd*, Mr. Petyt's *Rights of the Commons of England*, Atwood's *Jami Anglorum Facies*, and his *Jus Anglorum ab Antiquo*. I have likewise perused *Argumentum Anti-Normanicum*, Counsellor Lambert's *Perambulation through Kent*, Counsellor Haywood's *Lives of the Norman Kings*, a work begun at the

the desire of Henry prince of Wales, and continued under his direction and influence; the Abbe de Prault's *Histoire de Guillaume Conquerant*, and the Introduction to the History of England, by the great Sir William Temple; performances which either the modern historians, particularly Smollett, have not seen, or at least have seen in a quite different light from me.

If this performance be pirated, after being condemned in Smollett's Review, it would be some generosity in the pilferer to strike out mistakes that may have crept into it; for in doing this he will less deserve the displeasure of the generous and humane. However, we have taken a more effectual method for making the pirate be at some pains, as the book is entered in Stationers-hall; so that whoever dares to imitate the collector of the British Plutarch, he shall be prosecuted with the utmost rigour of the law; for tho' such turpitude deserves the discipline due to a school-boy, more than any remonstrance from a sensible man, yet we must complain when wounded in our persons and families; and as God has blessed me with two lovely sons, it would be cruelty to let an insouciant creature bear away their property, without any endeavour to prevent it. As to the censure that may be thrown out by the Reviewers, they are below contempt,

tempt, and rather merit pity than resentment; however, as we have such great authors to support us, we must recommend to doctor Smollett's perusal the following lines out of Horace:

Ludere qui nescit, campatribus abstinet armis.
Indotusque pilæ discipulo trochive quiescit.
Ne spissæ risum tollant impune coronæ.

Upon the whole, I shall be extremely obliged to every man of temper and learning for his corrections in a work so interesting as the Life of WILLIAM the Conqueror, since he laid the foundation of the English greatness, and was the root and stem of such an illustrious race of kings; and assure, that a different translation of the Latin word *Conquestus* shall make no discord between them and me; and however unwilling to differ from so polite a writer as Mr. Hume, yet I cannot look upon WILLIAM the First as the Conqueror of England, a name which he disclaimed in his life-time, and which lawyers never thought applicable to him; but this will appear further on the perusal of this performance.

Sir William Temple very justly observes, that some historians have represented WILLIAM as a God, while others painted him

“ him as a devil ;” inconsistencies scarce to be reconciled, except from a consideration of the times, the genius and sphere of the different authors. He was the first English monarch who curbed the insolence of the clergy, and made churchmen know that they were not to be independent on the civil power ; however, it is observable, that such as had the honour of being known to him, have been most favourable : they even seem to vie in his encomium. Ingulphus calls him the NOBLE, the RENOWNED ! and the citizens of London, in a public epitaph upon the grave of that prelate, who obtained the charter of their liberties, have termed him the INVINCIBLE ! epithets which he deserved more than any prince to be found upon record, at least so far as we could trace out his actions through the dark labyrinths of antiquity.

And. Henderson.

for trade and commerce, and the river that runs
~~through it is well stored with fish and fowl~~

for daily use, but for exportation and traffic
 from the river of Calvados to the year 807

it was subject to the king of France, and
 made a part of that kingdom, but in 1066

it was divided by treaty of the northern
 part of it, which was given to the king of

France, who gave it the name of Normandy, whereas it was
 known by the name of **OP** before.

The Gothic coming from the north of Nor-

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 was arrived about two hundred years before, with
 the number of a duke, but a great number of people

and a king upon the coast of Normandy, and a king
 who, which they traveled, they found

thence called to the north of the country, and
 the country without resistance, and taking the

An account of Normandy. — The birth and

education of William. — He at the age of

seventeen with 20,000 defeats an army of

150,000 men.

THE province of Normandy is among
 the largest and most populous in France;

it extends from 48° 30' of lat. to 49°
 40', and from long. 3° 30' to 6° 50'; the soil

is generous and free, and at the same time strong
 and tenacious; not so delicate as in the middle

and southern provinces, nor so barren as in many
 parts of Germany upon the same climates: their

cattle are larger, and their men are generally
 more robust than in the southern parts of the

kingdom; the coast is beautifully and well situated
 for

for trade and commerce, and the rivers that run through it are well stored with fish, not only fit for daily use, but for exportation and traffic.

From the time of Cæsar, to the year 807, it was subject to the kings of France, and made a part of that kingdom, but in that æra it was subdued by a colony of the northern nations, a party of Danes, who from themselves gave it the name of Normandy, whereas it was known by the name of Neustry before.

The Goths coming from the shores of Norway and Sweden, had in two several expeditions arrived about two hundred years before, with mighty numbers of a brave but barbarous people, and landed upon the coasts of Holland and Flanders, which they ravaged cruelly; they from thence sailed to the mouth of the Seine, subjected the country without resistance, then taking the city Rouen, the capital of the province, which being exempted from plunder by a composition with the inhabitants, they made inroads into the isle of France, and near Paris itself, with such fury and success, that the king of France, embroiled then at home, thought fit to tame these lions, rather than oppose them any longer, and threw them that noble and fruitful morsel of Normandy, to assuage their hungry appetite, yielding it up wholly to their leader Rollo, upon conditions of his turning Christian, and his holding that dutchy from the crown of France, for him and his successors for ever.

To Robert the sixth, in descent from Rollo, succeeded William, a man in whom were united all the qualities and virtues of his ancestors, without degeneratting into such extremes as generally become equally pernicious and detestable

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as the opposite vices; 'tis of him we purpose to write, as no doubt every person will be fond of knowing the particulars of a man who was the root and stem of the English kings.

Historical exactness, which ought to be the study of every Biographer, will not suffer us to conceal that he was not born in wedlock*, nor did he derive any lustre from his mother's family; his grandeur proceeded only from his father, but was afterwards carried to the highest pinnacle by his own merit, which solely was the basis and foundation of the fame and glory he acquired.

His mother's name was Arlotte; she was a skinner's daughter of Palais, a town in Normandy, and became known to duke Robert in the following manner:

As the duke was riding through that place, he espied some young men and maidens dancing near the road where he passed; being in the vigour of youth, and full of spirits, he had the curiosity to halt a little to behold the diversion, and, as in other cases, one particularly pleased him; the frame and make of her body were every way graceful, and being seen in her natural simplicity, without any of the artificial ornaments that only serve to hide deformity and imperfections, she so captivated the duke's heart, that he asked her name, and retiring to an inn, he ordered her to be brought to him, and treating her with that affability and politeness used on the like occasions, he prevailed upon her that night to take a share of his bed; and the effect of

* This was the case of Alexander the great, Hercules, Romulus, and of Adelftane.

their amour was, that in nine months from that day she brought forth a son, whose history is now before us.

I would not willingly give credit to the report, that this young woman had behaved more as a courtier to the duke, than he had towards her: certain it is that some historians have not scrupled to assert, that she behaved with the most wanton lasciviousness as the duke approached to embrace her; and that the framers of the English language, either from the reputed immodesty of the mother, or violent and intense hatred of the son, by an aspiration of the first letter of her name, denominated by the appellation Harlot, such females as were lost to decency, and to the constitutional virtues of the fair sex.

As Normandy at that time was under an arbitrary government, so it was no wonder if the mother of the Conqueror, after her pregnancy, solaced herself with the consideration of the illustrious person who was the cause of her misfortune; and her situation occasioning a multiplicity of thoughts and conjectures, she a few nights before her delivery, dreamed that her bowels were extended over England and Normandy, a presage not unlike that of Assyagis, concerning his grandson Cyrus the Great.

It was on the 10th of Nov. 1015, that she was delivered at Palais, of her first son, whose birth was attended with a prodigy, for no sooner was he come to the world than he fell from his mother's body to the ground, and there filled his hands with rushes, which had been strewed thick upon the floor, and strained them so straitly as to raise an amazement and concern; some of
the

the women present laughed heartily on the occasion, every one construing it as her imagination directed, but none of them so naturally as the midwife, who, being a woman of experience, told them that the new-born babe should in time not only hold fast that which was his own property, but even grasp at that which belonged to other men.

No sooner was the mother recovered than she went, accompanied by her father, to the duke, and presented the babe before him: he took the child up in his arms, and examining the lineaments and features of his face, he readily acknowledged a striking similarity to his own; and, becoming extremely fond of the infant, he offered to the father of the young woman to make every possible reparation for the injury done to his daughter's virtue. There are even historians who inform us, that he entertained Arlotte as his lawful wife*, which if true, then the illegitimacy was removed, and by the laws of Normandy, the civil and canon laws, William became the heir to his father, equally as if he had been born in wedlock: but be that as it will, according to the custom in France at that time, illegitimate children succeeded to the highest places and dignities, and to the largest estates, no less than those who were lawfully born.

Whether duke Robert married the mother of his first-born son is but a circumstance; the same care was taken of him as if he had. A nurse was sent for to the palace; he was trained up like a prince of the first rank; and even

* Wil. Malmesbury, lib. 3. in princ. Ingulph. lib. 6. cap. 19.

while upon the nurse's knee discovered such charms as captivated the heart of the father, and prognosticated the future greatness of the son. As the child was healthy, and his constitution strong and vigorous, he was the sooner taken from the care of women, and put under the direction of a guardian of his own sex. From him he learn'd the Latin tongue to such perfection, that he was able to read and explain Justin and Cæsar's Commentaries before he was nine years of age: how well he could write this language, which at that time was spoken at every court in Europe, will readily appear from the charter granted to Baitel Abby, wrote with his own Hand.

At the age of five years he mustered up a battalion of young boys of his own age, whom he taught the military exercise according to the fashion of the times, and denominated them from his own name. Like another Cyrus he heard causes and gave judgment between them: his decisions were generally just and equitable, or at least far exceeding what might be expected from his years, a sure prelude of that superior greatness of soul which distinguished the equity and goodness of his heart among his contemporaries, the liveliness and vivacity of his imagination and genius among heroes, and the surprising moderation and self-denial which made him with a particular lustre shine among the conquerors of the world; for, in the language of an illustrious author * * * 'tis certain this young conqueror owed his greatness to his birth, and his fortunes

By Sir William Temple.

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“to his personal merit, from the strength of
 “his temper and vigour of his mind; for he
 “had a body of iron as well as an heart of
 “steel; yet his intellectuals were at least equal
 “to his other natural advantages, and he ap-
 “pears as wise in his politick institutions as he
 “was bold in his enterprizes, or brave and
 “fortunate in the atchievement of his great
 “adventures.”

When he was about nine years old, his fa-
 ther, duke Robert, from a fit of devotion accord-
 ing to the spirit of the times, bent into a re-
 solution of visiting the holy sepulchre; and be-
 ing deaf to the remonstrances of his nobles
 against his intention, he set out for the city of
 Neice in his way to Smyrna; but not before com-
 mending his son to their care and loyalty. He
 told them that he really believed the child to be
 his own; enlarged upon the generosity of his
 disposition, his strength and agility; but above
 all things his wonderful sagacity and condescen-
 sion; and that the prince's personal merit would
 recommend more powerfully than any expres-
 sions or words he could use: and, to stop the
 mouths of his two brothers, he committed to
 them the care of his son: he caused the states
 of his dutchy to swear allegiance to him; and
 then carried him to Paris to do homage to Hen-
 ry I. of France for the territories he enjoyed,
 who took upon him the protection of the
 prince's person, and of the states he was to en-
 joy, an unusual testimony of the good faith and
 well-meaning of those times, when honour was
 preferred to interest; and when a prince, under
 Robert's circumstances, could trust a son to re-
 proached birth, and disputed right, to a power-
 ful

ful neighbour, the likeliest to invade him, and to men the most likely to dispute his title and pretensions.

These ceremonies being over, the homages received in Normandy and given in France, duke Robert delivered his son out of his own hands into those of the French king, and as he delivered him, he put the king in mind of the services he had done him, in order to advance him to the crown; to all which he received the most obliging answers, and being entirely satisfied, he proceeded on his journey to Jerusalem, where he arrived in a short time after, performed his devotions at our Saviour's grave, but, on his return home, he died at Neice, and was buried with all the funeral pomp usual in that age upon such occasions.

Upon receiving certain information of the duke's death, the nobles, who were intrusted with the government until his son should come of age, found themselves involved in many difficulties, from the spirit of party and faction; some envying their greatness, and others pretending a right to the ducal inheritance, as being descended from former princes of Normandy: all was in confusion! faction, ambition, and jealousy raged almost every where; the members of the state were at variance; some were more open than others, but the generality masked their design until such a number of the common people could be brought over as was sufficient to promote their intentions.

In this state of confusion the governors, faithful to the trust reposed in them by the father, and to the oath they had taken to the son, judged the presence of the young prince to be abso-

lutely necessary, and therefore prevailed upon the king of France, with whose sons he was educated and brought up, to send him into Normandy; which he accordingly did, with great honour to himself and generosity to the young duke, and to the loyalists and patriots of Normandy, over whom the prince was soon to govern. Thus was the young hero left rather to be the founder of his own fortunes than heir to his father's throne, which he found exposed to every danger that could arise from the tenderness of his age, the reproach of his birth, suspected guardians, a disputed title, and a distracted state, which last was his only support and safeguard. It frequently happens in elective states, that the strenuous opposition of contending parties operate in favour of one who never was thought of; but, in the case before us, the jarring interests of the different candidates tended to advance the person to the throne, who was designed by the last possessor, and against whose succession they all so loudly exclaimed.

'Tis surprizing to think of the wonderful change wrought in the hearts both of friends and enemies by his arrival in Normandy: he was now about eleven years old, and possessed of all the accomplishments that tend to confirm the health, invigorate the body, and to mollify the heart. The diversions at the court of France were at that time manly and noble: tilting, jousting, hunting, fencing, running and darting with the javelin, wrestling, and riding, were their favourite amusements, and the young noblemen who composed the court had their share in them, and frequent opportunities of trying their manhood and skill, in which the
young

young duke of Normandy as far outstripped the princes of the blood, as he did in the several branches of liberal education, which at that time consisted in speaking the Latin tongue, and some rude traces of logic, and syllogistical reasoning.

His arrival in Normandy opened the mouths of every generous and honest mind in his favour, every one was enamoured with him; his dexterity in every exercise, his prudence, his wisdom, his affability, in a word, his every virtue ~~pleased~~ raised the admiration of all; the duke Bretagne could not help admiring the accomplishments of the young man, though he abhorred the pretensions of the prince, and some of the candidates despairing of success, drop'd their claim, and stood neuter until they should see how things would turn out. The king of France did not want he should enter upon the peaceable possession of the crown which his Father had left him; for it ever has been the care of the court of France, to embroil that people in a civil war whom they had an eye on to reduce under their own subjection.

From the time of his arrival in Normandy, he was surrounded with difficulties too great to be surmounted by an ordinary genius; his life was exposed, not only to the arms of enemies, but to the plots of assassins themselves; the bulk of the Normans conspired both against his life and dignity, traducing him as a bastard, a boy, and born of a base and ignoble woman; against whom they fabricated accusations without proof, and facts without foundation; of these he appeased some, and by his princely and courteous behaviour reconciled them to his person and interest;

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terest; by his dexterity and address he broke the machinations of others, and quelled their sedition by his wisdom; he encountered others in the open field, and dispersed their forces, even when but a beardless boy, and before he was full seventeen years old. The principal competitors uniting among themselves, they agreed to cast lots which should stand candidate, and he on whom the lot should fall, was to be supported by the other competitors: upon a trial of this dark and fortuitous way of chusing, it fell to the share of Roger Tresuye to be the sole competitor, he was a man of the greatest bravery, and rarest endowments, and had given signal proofs of skill and ability in the art of war, when engaged against the Saracens in Spain and in Portugal: he pretended to be lawfully descended from Rollo, first duke of Normandy; in his manifesto, he owned that many had a title preferable to his; yet, continued he, "if these will sit still, if they either through sloth, which is bad, or fear, which is worse, will abandon the cause of their country, and submit to the son of a prostitute, yet my claim is better than his, and I alone will adventure upon the noble task of freeing Normandy from an infamous subjection:" accordingly he set up his standard, to which multitudes repaired, some from an opinion of his right, others from an aversion to be governed by the son of a mean woman, but the greater part, from the high opinion they had formed of his valour and conduct; he mustered a prodigious army of 50,000 men, with these he marched towards Caen, the capital of Normandy, proclaiming his title as he passed, but was met by duke William, at the head

head of 20,000 soldiers, who cut the other army into pieces, and general Trefuye himself was left dead upon the field, and the shattered remains joined the Conqueror.

After this, William earl of Argues, son to Richard the II. and uncle to duke William, did upon pretences not unlike those of the former competitor, declare himself a Candidate, against his nephew; the check which Trefuye had met with so intimidated the Normans, that they absolutely refused to take up arms against the present possessor, under whom they enjoyed the greatest tranquillity; every method was unsuccessful, every attempt to alter their opinion was vain, till an assurance of success was given from the aid which was promised by the French king, who forgetting the solemn engagements he had entered into with duke Robert, and the charms of the young hero while at his court, suffered himself to be prevailed upon to march against the person whom by every tie, sacred and human, he was obliged to protect and defend. A mistaken interest overbalanced his oaths, and the prospect of again recovering Normandy, on which the court of France had an eye, ever since its being ceded. He raised an army of 150,000 men, which he commanded in person, in order, as he gave out, to settle Argues upon the throne. The way which the army took was not common; for the king's intention was to fall upon the Normans unexpectedly; however, the difficulty of the march, and the vigilance of William, broke his measures, disconcerted and baffled his schemes; for the possessor no sooner heard of the intended invasion of his duchy, than he conducted his army

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army towards the frontiers; and tho' the same consisted but of 20,000 combatants, yet the smallness of their number was amply supplied by the spirit of independance which they breathed, and the confidence they had in the bravery and conduct of their leader, under whom they had already been triumphant and victorious.

The two armies were within thirty miles of each other when Henry found himself on the border of a large valley, sandy and full of short bushes and shrubs, and on either side surrounded with rising hills and thickets. The armies of France have ever been more famous for impetuosity and rashness than for patience and coolness. They were informed of the encampment of the Normans, and wanted to attack them as soon as possible, without clearing the way for the easier march of the troops and passage of the carriages. Their vanguard entered the valley, which consisted of a large body of troops armed with pole-axes and pikes: the right-wing was chiefly composed of Germans: on the left were many soldiers from Anjou and Poictou; but these auxiliaries were not distinctly formed, being incorporated with the French battalions, and commanded by French officers. Next followed the baggage, with an infinite number of sutlers, drivers, carries, and purveyors. Then came the king, with the main body, consisting of the flower of his troops: the cavalry, which was extremely well mounted, took each a foot-soldier behind him; many of the foot rode upon spare horses, while the men at arms, and the different bodies, armed with lances, closed the rear.

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From the moment of entering the valley the Duke had an account thereof, and even had a prospect from the hills we have been describing, upon which he had just arrived as the enemy began to march through. The thickness of the wood hindered his troops from being discovered, and the confidence which the enemy placed in their numbers prevented that strictness of enquiry which a matter of such importance required. The Normans saw every thing needful in the French army, while they saw nothing in theirs.

The Duke, from a presence of mind only to be found among the great, did, contrary to the remonstrance of his officers, withhold his soldiers from attacking the enemy, until they were far and fully advanced into the valley; and, during their march, he was placing them in the best and most commodious situation for annoying them from every quarter: he placed one corps of 2000 men opposite to their front, while two bodies, of 5000 men each, were placed upon the hills on both sides; so that at once this enormous army was attacked on every quarter, excepting the rear; whole lines of men were killed by the arrows without having seen an enemy; and as the attack was at once made upon the front and the flanks of the army, the arrows that showered from the hills met together in the same persons: and what may appear wonderful indeed the front of the army was the best secured. The generals did every thing in their power to support the drooping courage of their soldiers, whom they drew up in form of a wedge, and in that manner press'd forward upon the front of the Normans, whom,

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whom, by the pressure of their force, they, after an obstinate resistance, obliged to give way; pierced into the thickest of their ranks, bore them down with numbers, and gained the top of the hill, whereon they encamped directly.

The wings of the army did not follow the glorious example of their vanguard: disorder and confusion prevailed in spite of the skill and remonstrance of their leaders; for after the arrows and javelins had sufficiently thinned their ranks, the Normans from the hills run upon them with their lances, their battle-axes, and long swords, and attacking them with frightful shouts and exclamations made a dreadful havock; the right wing was cut in pieces, the left was broken and driven back upon the carriages, where jostling together and pressing upon each other, they received no less hurt from themselves than from their enemies: to remedy this confusion, and to preserve the carriages, the main battle and the rear advanced with the king at their head; but these were miserably overwhelmed with a storm of arrows from the neighbouring hills: the cavalry being terribly galled by these fell a capering and threw their riders on the ground; horror and consternation now raged with all their fierceness, the ground was besmeared with blood, or groaned under the load of the carcasses fallen upon it; and, to increase the misery of the day, the dust and light sand which were raised, partly by the feet of the horses, and partly by the violence of the wind, which then blew full in the faces of the French soldiers, involved the whole as in a thick and dark cloud, which at once deprived them of all foresight

and direction; the valiant and the coward were blended together, contrivance and chance were united, all laboured in one common calamity, every one increased the fear of his comrade, and, to compleat their destruction, the Norman body of reserve, after spending their arrows, came down from the hills where they hovered before; they united with their countrymen, and falling to the close stroke of battle-axe and sword dyed the very ground with the blood of their enemies. How happy for the French army that the number of the Normans was not sufficient to surround them! The entrance into the valley still continued open; many fled back thro' it into the plain ground, but in the most dreadful confusion tumbling upon each other, till at last the way was choked up with dead bodies, a spectacle which moved the heart of the conqueror, even in the midst of triumph: he rode from rank to rank to save the unfortunate captives from the uplifted hand of an enraged enemy: he ordered that quarter should be given, and that the slaughter should be stopped; this he did from his own natural disposition to clemency, and from a sense of his own inability utterly to conquer the enemy, whom he rather inclined to vanquish by friendship than by force.

Upon this plain, and at a mile's distance from the entrance into the valley, did the unfortunate Henry draw up the shattered remains of his routed forces: the joy of their escape did for a while stifle the memory of the hardships they had been just undergoing; but after a little breathing they became sensibly touched with the death of their friends, and the loss of their

carriages, from which they could not draw any refreshment: they gave up the vanguard as totally lost, and the vanguard entertained the same opinion of them: many were wounded, all were wearied, and the Normans on every side sounding the instruments of war, gave them to understand that an enemy was near them. In this extremity some of the most forward among the soldiers did not hesitate to upbraid the king with their misfortunes and disaster: one asked him, "where is your vanguard?" "where are the wings of the army? where is the residue of the battle? where is the rear-guard?" Others called for the carriages to preserve their lives: others again demanded if he had any more mouse-traps to lead them into? while the major part sat pensive and melancholy, scarce accounting themselves among the number of the living. The king heard these reproaches with a doleful silence; sometimes pretending he did not hear; and if at any time he answered them, it was in these words, "Good words, good soldiers, have a little patience, and all will be well." This prediction, uttered without any meaning, farther than to appease, was yet soon accomplished beyond his expectation, or even what he could hope for.

In this extremity the king assembled his officers, to advise with them upon what was fit to be done: their case was in a manner desperate; to remain in their present state was certain destruction; without food, without drink, without remedy, and on all sides surrounded by a victorious enemy, flushed with slaughter, and crowned with conquest; the danger of stirring no less apparent and visible; and yet it was

agreed to move; and now the question was, whether they should move together, or every man should shift for himself. While they were debating on this point, and while they expected every moment to be attacked, while death and despair sat on every countenance, behold a messenger came from the duke, not to offer but to desire peace, and to crave protection from the king, agreeable to the trust reposed in him by Robert the duke's father: the terms were greedily accepted, peace was signed and protection assured in a more ample manner than it was required; and the messenger with the smoothest language and softest expressions endeavoured to comfort and to solace the heart of the king, telling him, that his vanguard was safe, his carriages untouched, and that he should be furnished with horses both for burthen and for draught, in the place of such as had been slain; these mollifying expressions were certainly agreeable to a man whose bosom swelled with rage, with shame, and with horror; however the joy was but of short continuance; for when the soldiers came to gather up the baggage, a spectacle both lamentable and loathsome was presented before them, the valley covered and in some places heaped with dead bodies of men and horses, several not touched with any weapon, lay trodden to death or stifled with dust and sand; several mortally wounded, still retained some remainder of life, which they expressed with sighs and groans; many again tho' not mortally hurt, were so over-pressed with the bodies of the slain, that they were unable to extricate themselves from the burthen, until freed by the Normans, who now shone with no less lustre by the manly pity and compassion shewn
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to the miserable, than did their triumphant leader, whose characteristic was, to be no less gentle in victory, than he had been dreadful and terrible in the field; and thus did the French king more through the courtesy of his enemies, than by any discretion of his own, return to Paris, with the shattered remains of his broken forces, every individual of whom was an instance of his folly, and was ready to declare the wisdom, the power, the clemency and moderation of the Conqueror; for in this engagement he lost no less than 30,000 men.

Nor must it be forgot that Henry I. of France was an experienced warrior; scarce had he ascended the throne, when his mother queen Constantia and her son Robert raised an army to wrest the sceptre out of his hands, but by the assistance of 500 Norman spearmen he routed their forces, so that Constantia gave over her schemes, his brother was contented with the county of Boulogne, which his father left him, and Robert duke of Normandy had the towns of Chamont and Pontois, as a recompense for the triumph obtained by the king through his means.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

THE

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OF
WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

BOOK II.

The Conqueror's wonderful escape from a plot to assassinate him. — Several battles in Normandy and elsewhere. — An account of England, with the Duke's arrival at Hastings, and what happened previous to the terrible battle between the English and him.

SO many great actions, such a run of success in all his enterprizes, a reputation so full and so entire, were the principal fruits of his victories and triumphs; his enemies, tho' afraid to appear openly in arms, were yet not terrified from entering into plots for assassinating his person; four powerful noblemen entered into the base but secret conspiracy; Guy, earl of Burgoigne,

goigne, who had married Alix, daughter to duke Richard the second, and aunt to duke William, conspired with Nicellus, president of Constantine; Randolph, viscount of Bayonne; and some others, suddenly to surprize the duke's palace of Valogne, and to kill him in the night time: the plot was well laid, and the execution properly concerted: their joint hatred secured secrecy, every thing was in readiness, the snares were prepared, and the intended victim must have fallen, had it not been for the superintendancy of an all-powerful and watchful providence, which often makes use of the most unlikely instruments for accomplishing the best and most valuable ends.

On the night when the plot was to be executed, while the conspirators were together, and merry with wine, some expressions dropt from them, in the presence of a man who from his scantiness of understanding, was reputed not only to be a fool, but even to be little better than an idiot. It frequently happens that persons of the most scanty intellectuals have their lucid intervals, and are sometimes capable of discerning rationally. He had been called up to make sport before them, the better to conceal their scheme; in the midst of their jollity he observed secret preparations for a journey, and even heard them talk freely upon their design: his heart became touched with a sense of horror at the impious contrivance, which he had the precaution not in the least to insinuate; but no sooner was he dismissed, than he directly set out for Valogne, where he arrived at one o'clock in the morning. The duke was in bed, and but slenderly attended, and the place itself was far from

from being secure : upon his arrival, he began a continued knocking at the gate, which alarmed the servants ; and raising his voice he with repeated calls desired to be let in ; the duke himself was the first to command the door to be opened, and the man to be brought before him ; which being done, the detector more honest than the conspirators, informed him of such circumstances of the designed assassination, as determined him to call for his horse, which he instantly mounted, and posted to Falaise, a place of remarkable strength and security. He was scarcely got out of sight of Valogne, when the conspirators arrived before the gate, which they forcibly entered, as they were denied access ; the house was beset on all sides, a guard put at the door, and the circumstance of being refused entrance, determined them to believe that the duke was there ; they searched every room, and every corner, but missing of their prey, they intimidated the groom into a discovery of the place to which his highness was posting, and of the time when he had set out ; satisfied with what they had learnt, they again mount their horses, and at full speed pursue the game they had missed : however the intended victim was gaining ground all the time, and might have been at Falaise much sooner, had it not been that his horse began to be weary, and that he himself was not thoroughly acquainted with the way : fortunately for him, he was then at a little village called Ric, where the principal gentleman of the place was standing at his own door, and ready to go abroad ; of him did the duke enquire the nearest way to Falaise, and if he could get a fresh horse to carry him thither :

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he was unattended, and his cloaths were no better than those of an ordinary gentleman; however, in this disguise the other knew him; made his submission in the most dutiful manner, and even entreated to know the cause of his being so early abroad, and wholly unattended; the duke however desirous of passing unknown, was yet, upon observing the honest concern and sincerity of the man, prevailed upon to discover the whole matter: hereupon the gentleman furnished him with a fresh horse, and sent with him two of his sons, to conduct him the nearest road to Falaise.

They were scarce out of sight when the conspirators arrived; and finding the same gentleman at the door, they asked if he had seen the duke that morning, for said they, "we are come to attend him." The gentleman told them he was just gone, and that if they rode fast they might overtake him; and to encourage them further he offered to conduct them, which they readily accepted; accordingly the whole set out, and the gentleman guided them another way, keeping them company until he thought that his highness had reached Falaise, and then left them to their own meditations.

The conspirators being thus disappointed, found it necessary to take the field in order to screen themselves from the punishment due to the base and horrible crime of an intended assassination; and being men of power and great fortune, they raised a numerous army, that they might compass by force what they could not by stratagem. The duke was now pent up in the castle of Falaise with but few followers, among whom were the two sons of the faithful gen-

gentlemen to whom he had so lately owed his preservation. One party of the insurgents sat down before it, while the other gathered forces to strengthen their cause. The friends of the duke were disarmed, and forced from their own houses; their estates were plundered, and the soldiers composing the rebel army not only seized the publick revenues but lived upon free quarter.

In this extremity what could the duke do? The place was so closely blockaded that in time he would be obliged to yield to his enemies, who, notwithstanding they wanted engines fit for a siege, yet they had plenty of provision, and the country at their mercy; whereas William was stript of every thing but courage and sagacity. While his escape was doubtful, and his followers began to despair, he suddenly in a dark night withdrew from them, in company with the two young gentlemen, and coming up with the first centinel, he seized upon him, and holding a javelin to his breast, extorted from him a discovery of all that he knew, with respect to the power of the enemy, and the position they were in. Having obtained the best intelligence, he directed his route thro' a bye-way that had not been observed, and when out of danger proceeded to Paris to the French king, who but one year before was his greatest enemy. Henry I. was not averse to begin a war at any time: he had no antipathy to the person of William, and would prefer his claim to the dutchy of Normandy before that of any other except his own. Accordingly he raised a considerable army, which he put under the duke's

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duke's direction, and attended the same in person as a volunteer.

No sooner was the duke's standard set up than multitudes crowded to him from every quarter, so that the conspirators found themselves obliged to fight the united forces of the French and Normans before they should become too numerous. Accordingly the two armies met in a place called the vale of Dunes, and here began a very brisk and vigorous engagement, the generals exerting all their skill, the soldiers all their courage: few faults were committed on either side: William, at last, owed the victory to the superiority of his knowledge and valour. He confessed that Guy de Burgoigne had fulfilled all the duties of a great commander; "he was, said the conqueror, only defective in his cause;" and, being obliged to fly, he conducted the shattered remains of his troops into some castles and strong holds, which he had the precaution to fortify in the event of a disaster: but no sooner did the troops of the conqueror sit down before them than they surrendered at discretion, and now the moderation and goodness of our hero shone with a peculiar lustre: he forgave Guy de Burgoigne the offence he had committed, honoured him with a liberal pension, and pardoned the other conspirators. It was the distinguish'd characteristick of our hero not to gain a victory by halves: he subdued by kindness and generosity the hearts of the persons whom he had vanquished by his arms; and it is observable, that Guy de Burgoigne acquitted himself with fidelity and honour in the conqueror's service.

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Searce was the French king returned to Paris when he was informed of an invasion of his states by Jeoffery Martel, earl of Anjou, against whom he was willing that the duke of Normandy should take the command. Accordingly the duke being informed by a courier, he set out from Falaise with a select body of soldiers, and these he joined to the French forces, then under the direction of their sovereign, who gave up the charge of the whole to the duke. In this war he acted the part not only of a bold soldier but of a skilful commander: the French king saw his courage and admired it; he only blamed him for throwing himself too carelessly into the mouth of danger, imputing that to ostentation which was only the effect of his courage and vivacity. He would frequently quit the main battle with a few attendants, either to make discoveries, or to encounter such parties as could not be overtaken by a more numerous corps. Once he withdrew with four men only, and was met by fifteen of the enemy: he struck their leader from his horse with a truncheon, and the man's thigh was broke by the fall: he pursued the other fourteen four miles, several of whom were wounded, and seven were taken prisoners; all of whom he treated with a politeness and compassion that did him no less honour than the exploit he had performed. One would have thought that the glory of his achievements and the lustre of his victories, but above all his generosity and tenderness to the vanquished, would either have deterred or have won upon his enemies; but the contrary effect flowed from this very cause: no sooner was one enemy

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my conquered in one quarter but a second appeared in another. His enemies, like the Hydra's heads, multiplied against him. The duke of Anjou, an independant prince, having an eye upon a place called Alençon, a part detached from the duke's other dominions, he seized upon the town and castle thereof, and laid the adjacent country under contribution; the duke drew some forces before it, and with these he encamped. As the castle was built upon a precipice, he could not fix the battering ram (the ordinary offensive engine at that time) against it. The insolence of the besieged was highly provoking, and indeed below the character and dignity of military men: they often called from the walls, *la pel, la pel*, which in the Norman language signified the skin, and by these and such like malicious phrases, reproached him with the birth of his mother. He despised the insult; but as soon as the castle fell into his hands, he found not only many of his own subjects who had frequently sworn an inviolable allegiance to him, but even some who had received signal marks of favour from his hand. Having thus caught them in the act of rebellion, he found himself obliged to make some examples for his future security, and yet he spared their lives; "for, said he, let us not kill them, let us only take from them the power of hurting." Accordingly some had their right hands struck off, and others their left feet; but, what is very remarkable, all had their goods and effects secured to them. For making these examples of publick justice, his enemies bestowed upon him the character of cruel and severe: they looked at the punishment,

ment, but not at the crime; and forgetting the rebel and parricide, they only cast their eyes upon the mutilated person.

This iniquitous and ill-deserved imputation of cruelty upon the mildest and best disposed person that ever was a conqueror, drew the tongues of the malicious, and fired the unwary and unthinking to acts of hostility against him; and carrying the spleen into other provinces, they enticed Engelrame, earl of Ponthien, to take up arms and invade the conqueror's dominions. Engelrame did so with more courage than caution, for he was met by the duke upon the frontiers of Normandy, where he himself was killed at the first onset, his followers dispersed, and the unhappy Normans, who had joined him, were turned over upon the criminal courts; some met with the punishment due to rebellion and treason, while their sovereign's clemency interposed in behalf of the rest.

He had frequent encounters with the petty princes of Brittany, of Aquitaine, and Tours, and with the earl of Anjou, formerly mentioned: all these he overcame and subdued: he either vanquished their armies by force, broke by his dexterity and address, or wearied out and consumed by his patience and conduct. Of these confederate princes Anjou was the most formidable: his dominions were not inferior in extent to Normandy: his revenues were rather larger; his subjects were no less powerful, and he himself was no less skilled in the art of war, having fought several battles, and some with success, against the forces of France. In a word, he was confessed to be little inferior in success or power to William, and in manhood

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and personal valour to be every way his equal. 'Tis needless to pursue them from valley to valley, from hill to hill, or from one encampment to another: many brisk skirmishes happened between them, notwithstanding that their way of making war consisted more in advantageous encampments, vigorous attacks, honourable retreats, crossing rivers, and passing defiles, than in carnage and slaughter: that campaign was in a manner an abridgment of military virtue. Many actions of conduct and capacity were performed by each of them, so that their campaign might be said to be an emulation for honour rather than a desire of conquest, and once the dexterity and address of Anjou had well nigh caught his rival in a snare.

Being informed that the duke of Normandy was to decamp one morning to a place at some distance from that whereon he was situated, and that he had a narrow pass to go through, he marched thither with all possible secrecy, and had almost surrounded the entrance, except on one quarter, before the duke came up to it. Unluckily for the conqueror, it was dark, and the spies not giving the proper intelligence, he, with his body-guards, consisting of about 500 men, plunged into the valley, being about six miles before the rest of the army. When they were full within the valley the Anjouans sallied out of the thickets, and attacked the Normans and their leader so suddenly, that he was in the midst of danger before he thought any danger was near him: terror and confusion seized upon his soldiers; many of his bravest warriors were slain; the love of life took place.

place of intrepidity, and they began to think more of an escape than of the safety and glory of their leader.

When they were thus upon the point to separate, the duke cried out with a loud voice and martial accent, "If you love me not, soldiers, yet for shame follow me, for shame stand by me, for shame let not any of your friends hear the report, that you ran from me, and left me fighting." With these words he threw himself into the thickest of his enemies, at the same time denouncing those men either traitors or cowards who would not follow. His expressions and fortitude so animated the soldiers that they rallied on all sides, and with redoubled efforts followed their leader with a bravery that was irresistible: they encouraged one another, saying, it was shameful not to fight for him, who so bravely fought for them. The duke, like the bolt in the body of the thunder, flashed in the midst of his enemies; and as the thunder, when gendered in the midst of the cloud, does no sooner crack than it blazes, bursts, and overturns; so our hero no sooner brandished his flaming sword, than he burst thro' the ranks of his enemies and overturned them: he killed and wounded all who came near him, he forced his way to earl Martel in the midst of his battallion of guards, struck him from his horse, clave his helmet, and cut off one of his ears, which so diverted the Anjouans, that, more intent upon preserving their leader than upon procuring the victory, they fell into disorder, and were attacked on every quarter. The earl was at last set on horse-back,

back, and being borne down by the flight of his men, he was constrained to leave the field to the enemy, who, on his bended knee, fell down before the troops, and returned thanks to God for the victory he had obtained, and the signal deliverance he had met with.

Nor was he only involved in wars with invaders, but he drew the sword in favour of some who were pressed by enemies too powerful for them. Among others was Hugh, earl of Maine, who was imposed upon and stripped of his estates in the following manner:

Fulk, earl of Anjou, having drawn Herbert, earl of Maine, under fair and plausible pretences to Xontonge, he seized his guest at a time when he least expected any such perfidious treatment, and cast him into prison, whence he was not released until he had yielded to the hard condition of surrendering up his estates, only holding a small patrimony for subsistence; but soon after his enlargement he died of grief for his disaster, and the wrongs he was obliged to do to his family. He was succeeded by an only son, whose name was Hugh, who, from a sagacity and admirable forethought, put himself and his estates under the protection of the duke of Normandy, with whom he entered into articles of making him his heir, in case he should die without issue. The earl of Anjou, formerly named, took the city of Maine, and made himself lord of all that country, and would have continued to possess it, had not William, who was never known to break his word, come to the assistance of the distressed. He directly invaded Maine, and in a short time recovered the whole country; for the preservation where-
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of he built two fortresses. What is remarkable, he sent a letter to the earl to inform him what day the work was to begin. That nobleman did all in his power to prevent the undertaking, but to no purpose: the buildings were not only begun but completed, and he lost the country which his father had so perfidiously acquired, and which he had retained with such oppression and injustice.

With such a body of iron, and a soul of so much strength and courage, and with such an admirable presence of mind as sound resources in the extremity of dangers, there was not one of all his neighbours now who did not fear him; and the French king, desirous to check his career from being the admiration of the universe, or rather towards universal monarchy, prepared to invade him, and to make Normandy the seat of a bloody war. Forgetful of his engagements to duke Robert, of the charms of duke William, while at the court of France, of the moderation of the conqueror, while in the midst of triumph, of the solemn oaths he had taken to protect him in his possessions, and deaf to the grateful remonstrances of his own conscience, and the generous assistance given him against the earl of Anjou, he led an army against him, with whom he crossed at the ford of the Loire, a little above where Rochfort now stands. At that time the noble art of navigation was imperfect, and the theory of the tides was not well understood. Every person who has been upon the coast of Gascony, knows that the tides there propagate with an amazing rapidity. At that time was the new moon, and she acting in conjunction with the other luminary, and her

her apside * being opposite to the Loire, the swelling rose still higher than at an ordinary new moon. The general motion of the sea, which is from west to east, concurring with these, raised the tide still higher, and made it propagate with a force no less inconceivable than unexpected. The French army had marched from Saumur, and arrived upon the banks of the river about an hour before the ebb was at the lowest. There was a ford to which they were conducted by some country people, and the army began to march. It was about 250 yards long, and 50 yards over. In little less than an hour the one half of the troops, accompanied by the chief nobility and the volunteers, were got to the other side, and the other entered the water; but now the tide began to turn with all its rapidity: by the time the first column arrived at the bed of the river the water was breast high. There was a necessity for returning back, which was complied with, and yet not so quickly but that some were overtaken by the waves, and were drowned. At this very time the Normans came in sight, and being on the side of a hill, about two miles from the water, they had a view of the corps that was passed over, and of those who were by the waves compelled to return. Their illustrious leader perceived fresh laurels now blooming, and ready to be reaped: he, from his own sagacity and observation, guessed, in some measure, at the cause of this sudden division of the

* The place of the heaven where her centre and that of the sun coincide.

army; and as no man knew better to snatch and improve an opportunity, so he embraced this. He came down with an impetuosity and ardour not to be restrained; attacked that part of the troops which had got over, and bearing terror in his name, he, after a feint resistance, either cut them in pieces, or took them prisoners, in the view of the king, who, unable to relieve or assist them, sent a message to desire reasonable and christian conditions of the conqueror. These were granted, and the two leaders agreed that the French prisoners should be released, and that the duke should retain whatever he had won, or should win, from the Anjouans.

So unusual a moderation might have left such an impression upon the mind of Henry, as to prevent any disturbance to the duke of Normandy from him. But what will not a man, fired with ambition, and jealous of another's glory, do in order to satiate the one, or to eclipse the other! He did not scruple again to muster up forces to disturb the repose and tranquility of the generous conqueror; but in all his enterprises he gained only shame and dishonour to himself, and universal calamity to all his subjects: so that finding all his efforts in vain, that he had lost the flower of his army, the greatest part of his nobles, and had hardly escaped himself in person; that a reserved vengeance was like to burst upon him in his declining years; that the works of his reign were sunk in every engagement, and the lives of millions were sacrificed to no purpose; he contracted a sickness which put an end to his life, a period to his reign,

reign, and to the disturbances with which the Normans were so frequently harassed.

The conqueror had now surmounted all difficulties, with a constancy of mind, prudence of conduct, a care, wisdom, vigilance, and activity not to be paralleled in ancient times, and scarce to be believed in times to come. He had appeared not only at the head of his counsels, but of his armies: he had totally subdued the forces, and conquered the hearts of his competitors and enemies at home; he had obliged them to quit Normandy and France, and seek new fortunes, or at least protection, in Italy, under the banners of those northern princes, who had first by assisting their friends, and then pursuing their own fortunes, made themselves masters of Apulia, Calabria and Sicily. So great was the power, and so rapid the progress of those Norman adventurers, that from *Prubans*, as the French termed them, because they left their own country in search of a settlement in distant regions, they became possessors and sovereigns in less than 200 years of one noble dutchy in France, a great kingdom in the best parts of Italy, but a still greater, and a more renowned in the British isles.

All being over, he turned his thoughts to bind up the wounds which Normandy had received during the continuance of a cruel, bloody, and destructive war. He applied his thoughts to cultivate the arts of peace, and to make his people feel the happy effects of repose and publick tranquillity, he ordered corn from his own granaries to sow the land: he distributed his carriage horses among the peasants and farmers; he gave them horned cattle and sheep from

from his own pastures; and to encourage the tradesman, and him who was bred up to no handicraft employment, he set about adorning his palaces and houses of pleasure, building churches and abbeys, which, with great bounty and piety, were magnificently endowed.

Altho' the sciences at that time lay weeping, and, like a maiden forsaken by her lover, were not courted by the sons of genius; yet the noble art of architecture was an exception from this rule, which in those days generally prevailed. The stately and magnificent fabricks erected in Normandy, the many abbeys and halls which rose there and in England, are of this an irresistible proof, a shining and a glorious example. All the rules laid down by Vitruvius were perfectly understood and put in practice: nor were those of Palladio less universally known. The noble edifice of Battle Abbey, in Suffex, which was planned, begun, and completed under the eye of the conqueror himself, will, so long as it can survive the injuries of time, be an instance of this, not to be denied by the malicious detractors from the name and reputation of its founder. Nor must we here forget the admirable hall of Westminster, which for its largeness* and the elegance of its structure, raises the admiration of foreigners; a building begun and perfected in the lifetime of his son and successor, William Rufus; and which, for its capaciousness and pleasant situation, has been the place where the kings and queens of England have dined at their corona-

* It is 270 feet long, and 72 feet broad, between the walls.

tion ever since the reign of Henry I. another of the conqueror's sons, by whom it was, from a place for balls, masquerades, assemblies, and for entertaining foreign ambassadors, converted into a more serious use and place of solemnity; it was by him appointed to be the seat of the courts of justice, and has continued to be so since that period.

The illustrious conqueror even traced out large and commodious harbours, at places which had not so much as a name; on his own charges he built a pier at Cherburgh, and other places, erected houses near them, and endowed them with such privileges, as soon made them rear their heads like the cedars among the trees, or like the lillies among the thorns of the field; and was such an encourager of navigation, that his havens and ports were the receptacle of ships from the Baltic, the North of Germany, and from the different provinces of France, and of Italy; the use of the grape was known many centuries before the birth of the conqueror; the wine at Calais was spoken of by the Lyric poet* with a particular regard: the presses for making it being such as are now used in England for making cyder and perry, were generally bought at Caen in Normandy, which, by the mild and easy government of its Sovereign, became the staple of trade to the north and south of Europe, and which drew strangers from every kingdom, and from every state, to incorporate themselves with his subjects, and to seek a living under so benign and happy an administration. By universal consent Nor-

* Hor. Lib. 1. Carm. Ode 20.

mandy was stiled Mistress of the Channel, and William the Governor of the Seas.

As his public felicity was settled upon that rock of victory which had stood fast amidst storms and convulsions, so nothing remained now but to complete his domestic happiness; for this purpose he in the year 1050 married Matilda, daughter to Baldwin earl of Flanders, a prince admired for his bravery and wisdom; the name of his spouse was Alix, sister to Henry I. of France; so that by this alliance he became still more considerable, especially as Henry soon died, leaving the crown to his eldest son Philip, a boy of seven years of age, and his kingdom under the regency of his brother-in-law, who was created a marquis of France, and whose conduct, during the minority of the young king, did honour to the choice king Henry had made: it does not appear from history what particular part he acted in the war against the duke of Guyenne, and the Saracens in Spain, tho' it is expressly asserted in the annals of these times, that the duke of Normandy took Montalban from the Gascons, and Balbastro from the Saracens; for Alphonso IV. king of Castile, had been obliged to apply to the regent of France for assistance against the incursions of these people; and William duke of Normandy thought proper to take a share in the danger and glory of the adventure.

Tho' this marriage tended to strengthen William against all opposition, yet some of his relations were displeased: for Mauger, archbishop of Rouen, his father's brother, and who had superintended his education, even proceeded to excommunicate him; under pretence that it was not lawful to marry so near a relation, she being the

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daughter of the conqueror's aunt, and consequently his cousin-german; so ridiculous a sentence moved the indignation of William so far, that he appealed from it to the court of Rome; and not only the excommunication was taken off, and a dispensation granted for the marriage, but in a provincial council, which was called to enquire into the archbishop's conduct, he was deprived of his dignity.

About nine months after consummating the marriage, Matilda was delivered of a son, whom the conqueror called Robert, after his father, thinking that the name of a prince, so universally beloved, would be a means of gaining the affections of his subjects, many of whom had been partakers of his father's bounty, and had been cured by his means of the most inveterate diseases, but particularly the leprosy, a distemper which at that time raged in the middle and south of Europe.

After this, we have no regular account of the actions of this prince's reign in Normandy that can be depended on, and the contradictory reports of authors render an enquiry into them superfluous and ingrateful. What entertainment would it be to a reader to examine whether he was present at the coronation of Philip the eldest son of Henry I. at Rheims, or not? The French historians say nothing of that circumstance, and the Norman writers expressly assert it; or what profit could arise from considering whether or not he had met with two young ladies in the midst of a forest where he was hunting; and that upon finding they had eloped from a cloister, where they had been carried in their younger years, he procured their enlargement, and gave an irre-

sistible instance of his fidelity to the marriage-bed, notwithstanding the violence of the temptation, or, in other words, of conquering himself? Authors differ much as to this incident, and even as to others; but we are now come to that most brilliant period of his life, which is universally acknowledged by every historian. I have endeavoured to trace the different steps from the best light I could have, and flatter myself that the curiosity of the reader will be agreeably satisfied in perusing facts equally interesting, and tracing these up to the source from whence they had their origin.

The interest of England and of Normandy had for many years been looked upon as inseparably the same, and different relations were so formed between the two states, as one day might produce the most singular events; these connexions took their rise from the marriage of Ethelred king of England with Emma, sister to Richard II. duke of Normandy. Of this marriage were the two sons Alfred and Edward, who were cousins to duke Robert the conqueror's father: after the death of Ethelred, and of his son Edmund by the first marriage, Canute, king of Denmark, who had engrossed to himself one part of the kingdom, under the reign of two weak princes, and who from the extent of his dominions* was called the Great, had united the whole kingdom under himself, to the prejudice of the lawful heirs, the sons and grandsons of king Ethelred: the two most remote were Alfred and Edward, who being young, and without strength to enforce

* He was king of England, Denmark, and Norway.

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their pretensions, went to seek shelter at the court of Normandy: their cousin duke Robert, who had fully settled the tranquillity and peace of his own dominions, discovered a generous compassion toward the young princes, and even sent over an ambassador to Canute with letters in their favour, and intreating a settlement from the revenues of their ancestors suitable to their rank and dignity: however, Canute thought himself too secure in the throne to yield to the remonstrance of any neighbouring potentate, and Robert's pilgrimage and death happening soon after, the youths were left without hope, as William himself was under age, in the hands of tutors, and had need of all his address and ability for securing himself.

In this situation the princes thought it best to apply to Canute, as their mother Emma had been married to him: but indeed such an application was preposterous; for that marriage flowed more from policy than affection. Emma judged, that by marrying the king, the welfare of her two sons would be effectually secured; whereas Canute thought that such an alliance would entirely reconcile the nobles both to his person and family. These were the first resolutions of his life; and having, by the glory of his exploits, extended his conquests, and reduced Norway, and judging nothing too hard for him, he on his death-bed left England to Harold his son, who had been born in Denmark, and Denmark to his son Hardicanute, whom he had by Emma of Normandy. This disposition was not without obstruction; for young Canute, being supported by earl Goodwin, procured for himself the kingdom of the West Saxons, until Harold, having the address to gain over Goodwin, drove his brother

ther from the throne, and became sovereign of the whole kingdom.

Emma the mother of Canute, and who had contributed so much toward settling him in the kingdom of the West Saxons, was extremely surprized at a revolution, which at once drove her son from his throne, and stripped her of all future hopes of having any share in the government, now turned her eyes upon one of the sons of her first marriage, who she inclined should be settled upon the throne. These were the immediate descendants of the ancient English kings, and the more likely to be successful, as the son and two grandchildren of her husband king Ethelred by his first marriage were in a manner no more; two of them were dead, and the third was roaming through the kingdoms of the north; nothing was wanting but a pretext for making her sons come over from Normandy without raising the king's jealousy; for their presence was necessary both to procure friends and partisans. With this view Emma affected to appear careless with respect to the expulsion of Canute her son: she shut herself up in Winchester, where, giving herself up to acts of devotion and piety, she passed her time in frequenting the churches, inspecting monasteries, and visiting the sick; and judging that her situation would prevent her being suspected of ambition, she intreated the king that her sons might be permitted to pay her a visit, as she had not seen them since the time of her marriage with his majesty's father: the request was granted, and Alfred and Edward arrived in England only with intent, to outward appearance, of visiting their mother the queen; who receiving them with all the fondness of a parent, they

they were visited by the ancient nobility, who discovered an unusual satisfaction in paying their compliments to the lineal and immediate descendants of their ancient sovereigns.

Goodwin earl of Kent, who then governed the state under Harold, commonly called Harefoot, was too sagacious to be imposed on by the pretences of a woman; he penetrated the designs of the queen-dowager, and intimated to his master the suspicions he had conceived; they consulted upon the matter, and agreed to dissemble for some time, and to watch an opportunity for executing the scheme they had laid. Harold in a few days pretended that he was informed the two princes were to leave England soon; he sent his compliments to them with an invitation to come and spend some days at his court before their departure. Emma penetrated into the design; but being reduced to the alternative either of complying, or of drawing upon herself and upon them all the wrath of the sovereign, she, after cool deliberation, settled upon the expedient of sending the eldest son to court, while she retained the other under pretence of his being indisposed; judging that Harold would, in case he conjectured her suspicion, defer the execution of his plot, until each of the princes were in his power; and in the mean time she thought that a method might be fallen upon for preserving them both. Earl Goodwin, seeing through the queen's artifice, pressed his master to make sure of one part at least; and for this purpose he obtained a commission for going to Alfred with the king's compliments. Goodwin waited upon him, and the princes attendants being Normans, were even charmed to see the politeness with which he addressed

dressed their master, and the high honours which he paid him: but short-lived was their satisfaction, for as they were riding on a party of pleasure, they stopt at Guildford, under pretence of taking a refreshment; and here the prince with all his retinue were seized, and being sent to Gillingham, his eyes were put out; and from thence he was conducted to the Isle of Ely, and lodged in a monastery, where he died in a few days: the other brother, foreseeing his danger from the case of Alfred, hastened his departure for Normandy, while his mother the queen, with equal care, sought an asylum at the court of Flanders.

The duke of Normandy, who was in peace with all his neighbours, received the unfortunate prince with the most generous compassion; he did every thing to alleviate his misfortunes, and retained him till the death of Harold, who, after a reign of four years, died April 12, 1066, and was succeeded by Hardecantle. The confidence which young Edward placed in the new king, his uterine brother, was not a little shaken by an act of cruelty which that prince committed in the beginning of his reign; for scarce was the ceremony of his coronation over, when he ordered the body of Harold to be dug up, and to be thrown into the Thames; out of which it was hawled by two fishermen, who delivered it to some Danish gentlemen, and these buried it in the church-yard of St. Clements, the place of interment for the Danes; however, he caused the remains to be taken up a second time, and to be thrown into the river; out of which it was again drawn, and secretly buried at Westminster.

Edward, who judged himself safe under the protection of the duke of Normandy, repaired to

London,

London, and in a very submissive manner demanded satisfaction upon earl Goodwin, whom he charged with the cruel murder of prince Alfred. Hardicanute was not averse to hear a complaint of this kind, as he himself wanted to be revenged on Goodwin for his treachery; but, being covetous, he could not withstand the rich presents that were made him by the accused person, that he might be allowed upon oath to purge himself of the charge: he complimented him with a galley, whose stern was gilt, and which was manned by eighty soldiers, who wore, each of them, a gold bracelet on his arm, weighing sixteen ounces, their helmets and swords gilt, a Danish scymitar cased with gold and with silver, hanging from their right shoulder, and a lance in their right hand, with the like ornaments. In a word, every article belonging to the galley was of a proportional magnificence.

It was exceeding fortunate for Edward to come to London at this time, since the reign of Hardicanute was but short, and that his nephew Edward, the son of Edmund Ironside, was not there. These happy circumstances united the votes of the people in his favour; and Goodwin, whose opposition he dreaded most, became the most zealous partisan for advancing him to the throne. The interest of so necessary a friend was only to be obtained by a promise of marrying Goodwin's daughter. From this time the reign of Hardicanute was very troublesome; for, after having begun to extirpate the greatest part of the Danes, who had extended themselves through England ever since the invasion of Canute the Great, he was forced into a defensive war against Suino king of Norway, who endeavoured to set
up

up for his birthright, as he was also Canute's son, and elder than his brother; and not only so, but he found his coasts infested by a multitude of Danish pirates, which was his chief embarrassment: but as what more immediately relates to this history flowed from earl Goodwin and his family, it will not be improper to give some account both of him and of his sons.

He was born in Kent, and was the son of a cowherd *, whose name was Walnoth, and had in the preceding reigns attained the highest reputation as a soldier, equally remarkable for courage, conduct, and capacity: by his merit he had been advanced to the rank of a general under Canute the Great; and being with him at a battle, which some historians say happened in Sweden, he distinguished himself in the following manner:

As the two armies approached each other, toward the evening, Canute, in order to refresh his troops after a fatiguing march, caused them to encamp, and to be ready next morning to fall on: the king was on the right wing, and Goodwin was one of the generals upon the left; but unable to restrain his natural ardour, he in the middle of the night put the body of troops under his immediate command in motion, and came upon the enemy when they least expected him, attacked with a fury that was irresistible, and put the whole to the rout with a terrible slaughter.

About the dawn of next day the king went to visit the several quarters of his army, and seeing no person at the place where Goodwin was stationed the night before, he concluded that Good-

Lambert's Perambulation through Kent, page 104.

win had gone over to the enemy. But how great was his astonishment, when he saw him returning with the trophies of the victory, and a numerous train of prisoners! Though this action might be of dangerous consequence, yet the king, passing over the general maxims of war, which would have reached the life of Goodwin for fighting without orders, received him with an unspeakable complacency, and created him earl of Kent.

This countenance of the sovereign soon raised him to be the greatest subject that ever lived in England; I had almost said in any kingdom in Europe; for what by the large possessions received from three successive kings, and what he fraudulently snatched from his fellow-subjects, he was about the year 1050 earl of Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, Dorsetshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall, and grand treasurer to the king. His eldest son Swaine had Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, and Somersetshire; Cofy had Northumberland; and Harold, who afterward ascended the throne, had Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire, while Wolnoth, Girth, and Leofwin possessed other places, and held the chief offices about court. His first wife's name was Thyra, sister to count Ulpion, to whom Canute the Great had given his own sister Estrith in marriage, after the death of her first husband Richard duke of Normandy: by her he only had one son, who was drowned in the Thames; but by his second wife Githa, the sister of Swaine king of Denmark, which happened on the death of Hardiknute in the year 1042, he had the numerous family just mentioned, all of whom lived a life of oppression, and died a violent death. He had already

already set up two kings, and now was his time toward settling a third: he cast his eye upon Edward, of whose weakness and incapacity he was not ignorant, hoping that, by advancing him to the throne, he himself might have the sole management of affairs, while nothing would be left to the other, but the empty title of king. He judged that the marriage of his daughter with the sovereign, whose constitution was too much impaired for leaving an heir, would pave the way for one of his own sons, sooner or later, receiving the crown.

Every thing happened as Goodwin had foreseen; for no sooner was Edward arrived from Normandy, and seated on the throne, than the reins of government were committed to him, and to his sons; and though Edward abstained from all familiarity with Edith, yet her relations had no less power than if he had not: every law was calculated for aggrandizing Goodwin's family, the very first act resuming all the grants in the three former reigns, as it dispossessed the Danes of many opulent estates, so it tended to enrich the creatures and dependants upon the Goodwin family. But though the king was too docile to his father-in-law, yet in some things he acted like himself, and provided for a great number of Normans with whom he had been acquainted while at the court of their prince; for looking upon the English as drowned in superstition and ignorance, the sees of Canterbury, London, and Worcester, with many Abbeys, were filled with Normans, and a free intercourse was opened for strangers to visit the English court. Among the number of those who came over to congratulate the king on his accession to the throne of his ancestors

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ancestors, was William duke of Normandy, to whom Edward owed his life and his crown; for when a deputation came from the English nobles, inviting Edward to the throne, his cousin the duke of Normandy would not suffer him to depart, until he had received two hostages for the safety and preservation of his person; these were Wolnoth, son to earl Goodwin, and Hacen his grandchild, by Swano, Goodwin's eldest son.

The ties of blood, with the stronger engagements founded upon treaties, and supported by gratitude and integrity, could not fail to inspire a prince of Edward's piety and virtue with a desire of entertaining suitably his illustrious guest: he took a pleasure in doing every thing that might give satisfaction to his patron, his protector, and friend, to whom he voluntarily proffered to leave the throne, provided he himself should die without issue; and this was the foundation of that great revolution which soon followed, and for accomplishing which almost every incident concurred during the course of this reign. Among others, there happened an affair with respect to earl Goodwin, which here I beg leave to relate.

Eustace earl of Bologne, who had married Goda the king's sister, came over to England to pay his respects to his brother-in-law, and landing at Dover, one of his servants, upon a drunken quarrel, run an inhabitant through the body with a sword, and killed him on the spot: the townsmen, enraged at the indignity, gathered together, and attacking the earl's servants, they killed eighteen of them, and perhaps would not have spared himself, if he had not retired in haste to Westminster, where he laid an heavy charge against the Dovrians, for the insult he had received;

ceived; and these again laying their case before earl Goodwin, under whom they lived, independent of any other superior, reciprocal complaints passed between the king and him; these running high, they armed against each other, and fought a battle, in which the Royalists prevailed. Goodwin and his sons were obliged to quit the kingdom, and Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, giving in a charge of adultery against the queen, she was likewise expelled from the court: the queen was confined to a monastery at Warewel; Goodwin, with three of his sons, Sweyn, Tosti, and Girth, repaired to the earl of Flanders; Harold and Leofwin retired to Ireland; and the estates of them all were confiscated.

However, this exile of the Goodwin family was but of short continuance; for Tosti, having gained the affection of the earl's daughter, married her, and through her intercession obtained leave from her father, to the fugitives, to hire ships, and to lift sailors for the recovering the possessions of which they were deprived. With a fleet of eight ships did the earl put to sea for England; but meeting with a storm, he was obliged to return again to Flanders: but no sooner was the weather settled, than he again put to sea, and landing at the port of Sandwich, he mustered a great number of his friends, in order to be reinstated into his possessions. The coming of Harold at the same time from Ireland gave weight to Goodwin's enterprize; so that to prevent the effusion of blood, the king thought proper to yield to the remonstrance of some of Goodwin's friends, and to restore him to fortune and to favour. But no sooner was he in power, than he exerted all his influence against the archbishop

of Canterbury, and all whom he suspected. 'Tis not agreed among historians in what manner Goodwin died. The Abbe de Prault is inclined to think that it was at an entertainment, where the king mentioning the murder of his brother Alfred, Goodwin, taking a bit of bread in his hand, said, Sir, " Since your majesty seems still to suspect me of the death of your brother, notwithstanding the oath that I have taken ; now to convince you that I am innocent, I wish this morsel of bread which I am just going to eat, may choak me, if I had any hand, directly or indirectly, in the death of prince Alfred ;" and with these words he put the bread into his mouth, and was strangled. The ingenious counsellor Lambert, who has pryed into this story with great diligence, endeavours to discredit the tale, nor is it ours to determine between them, since all agree that he died suddenly, and in the year 1053, leaving a family in the best circumstances, and in the highest power ; but a sovereign incensed at his presumption, and harbouring an antipathy at the several branches of his family, which, the more it was covered, became the more dangerous and intense : 'tis true Harold had an opportunity of wiping off the bad opinion formed of him ; this he endeavoured, but by such means as were inconsistent with the rules of candor and integrity.

Soon after his father's death, he put to sea in two small vessels, with intent to visit the court of Normandy, and to release the hostages, Wolnoth and Hacon ; but, being driven by a storm upon the coast of Picardy, he was known to some fishermen, who carried him to Guyon earl of Ponthieu, by whom he was confined as a spy : but finding means to convey a letter to the duke

of Normandy, he interested himself in the matter, demanded the enlargement of the prisoner, and remonstrated upon the breach of good faith in confining a stranger, who was going to Rouen, and who had been accidentally shipwrecked upon his coast: and to urge the matter still further, he proffered to Guyon a large and beautiful manor upon the river Yvon, with every thing belonging thereto, which in all made a considerable ransom, and was accepted.

As Harold was now in the power of the duke of Normandy, the latter found he had need of all his talents to treat him in the manner that bid fairest for promoting his succession to the throne: to imprison him, in order to procure a consent, would be a blemish upon his own character; and to suffer him to depart, without intimating the voluntary proffer of king Edward, who was in a declining state of health, and which he afterward ratified by his plenipotentiary Robert archbishop of Canterbury, would furnish other candidates with arguments against him; he took the most prudent method for obviating every difficulty, and for removing all subtleties, he used the utmost coolness and circumspection; and indeed the whole was a point of delicacy.

The duke was not ignorant of Harold's views upon the throne, nor yet of the power of the Goodwin family, who were odious for oppression, marked for ingratitude, and stained with blood; he knew Goodwin's conduct to prince Alfred, as also the baseness of Swaine, Goodwin's eldest son, who, having gone off with a lady Abbess, retired with her to Denmark, and commencing pirate, armed eight vessels, with which he infested the south coast of England, and seized upon

upon the merchant-ships which he found in the port of Sandwich, and other places; all which overt-acts of treason had exposed him to the displeasure of his prince, to obtain whose forgiveness the father had applied to Bearn earl of Surry, and he readily undertaking the business, the good-natured monarch easily granted a pardon to the young rebel, who in recompence murdered Bearn with his own hand, at the very time when he presented the king's remission before him. However, vengeance pursued Swaine, for he was killed afterward by pirates, as he was sailing toward Jerusalem. In a word, he was acquainted personally with all the English nobility, and had immediate information of every publick transaction at the court of king Edward.

To make sure of every thing, he informed Harold of king Edward's voluntary offer of leaving him the crown, and in the politest and most princely manner suggested, that he depended upon the concurrence of the Goodwin family toward his peaceable settlement. All which Harold seemed to hear with complacency, and offered voluntarily to come under any engagements which his host should require. He told him that the crown must necessarily come to him, as Edgar Atheling the real heir was naturally incapable of holding the reins of government. Accordingly it was settled, that on a certain day he should take the sacrament on his fidelity to his future monarch; and that the same might be more solemn, he professed to take the oath before an assembly of the states of Normandy, which soon meeting at Bonnevilt, he took three particular oaths to promote William's advancement; according to the Abbe de Prault, he swore upon the gospels. But the

author of the relation written in the time of Henry I. says, that he swore upon the phylacteries *, which by reason of their being rolled up in the figure of a sphere, and for the diversity of their colour, arising partly from the injury of time, they called the Ox's Eye. Be that as it will, Harold certainly took a solemn oath to support the duke of Normandy with all his interest; and as he was now general of the king's army, he promised to cause him to be proclaimed on the decease of Edward, and to deliver the castle of Dover directly into his hands: for all which the duke promised him his daughter in marriage, and to give him the one half of the kingdom as her portion; nay, farther, he released Hacon, but retained Wolnoth as an hostage of Harold's fidelity. Father Daniel, and the numerous train of historians after him, would insinuate that the duke had imposed upon Harold, by hiding the reliques under the canopy that lay upon the altar, until he had taken the oath, and only then to have exhibited them; as if it was a new thing to hide the most sacred reliques under an altar, or a bad thing to use arguments to set forth the ties and obligations that every man lies under to observe his solemn oaths.

From this time there was so great an harmony between the duke and Harold, that the former being to begin an expedition against the people of Britany, the latter of his own accord accompanied him, and discovered upon every occasion a courage and fortitude, which raised an universal respect and esteem. This war being over, they

* Super phylacterium quod oculum bovis dicunt.

went to Compeigne, where the regent of France had ordered some tournaments for the entertainment of the young king; and at some of these Harold signalized himself also.

The visit being over, Harold returned to England, where, forgetful of his engagements, he redoubled his diligence for securing his succession to the throne, by putting on an air of affability, and doing every thing that might render him popular or respected; and he soon had an opportunity of fixing the eyes both of king and people upon him: for being sent against Grifith prince of North Wales, a man of great personal bravery, and remarkable goodness of heart, he got a fleet ready in so short a time, that the same ranged along the Welch coast, before Grifith dreamt that a vessel was so much as put to sea; for repelling which Grifith not only did his utmost to prevent a landing, but marched in person to give battle to Harold, who was advancing toward the frontiers: however, the son of Goodwin was an overmatch for the prince of Wales, for he hired some of Grifith's domesticks to murder him*; which these being base enough to undertake, they assassinated him in his bedchamber, cut off his head, and carried it to Harold, in order to receive the reward. As the Welch forces were left without a leader, so they submitted to have two governors of Harold's recommendation. This being over, a new scene soon opened for discovering farther the temper and disposition of the Goodwin family.

Tosti being with his younger brother Harold at an entertainment at Windsor, they had some

* See the History of Wales, p. 95.

angry altercations, even in presence of the king; and from words coming to blows, Tostig gave Harold a box upon the ear, which threw him to the ground: for this insult he was obliged to fly into Northumberland, over whose inhabitants he had hitherto barbarously and cruelly tyrannized. Morcar and Edwin, two powerful noblemen of those parts; and with whose sister Harold was in terms of marriage, spirited up the Northumbrians to a revolt; so that he was constrained to fly, yet not so suddenly, but that he took an unheard-of revenge upon some of his Northumbrian domesticks; he caused them to be killed before him, nay, he killed some with his own hand, and after cutting them in pieces, ordered them to be barrell'd up, and the barrèls to be sent to Harold the king's general: for this inhuman action he was obliged to quit England, and first retiring to his father-in-law the earl of Flanders, and from thence to the court of Normandy, he loudly complain'd of Harold; and laid open all his intrigues and cabals for ascending the throne: he enlarged upon the universal hatred under which Harold had fallen, and in the strongest colours painted out the treachery and fickleness of Morcar, who had succeeded him as earl of Northumberland; and of Edwin, Morcar's brother, who had obtained the government of Mercia through Harold's means.

These two brothers, Edwin and Morcar, were the sons of Edric the Forrester, a man of the most treacherous disposition, and grandsons to Leofric duke of Mercia, the same who was married to the celebrated Godiva, the most virtuous, beautiful, and accomplished lady in England in her time; and of whom we have the following

lowing remarkable event. In order to deliver the citizens of Coventry from an hard imposition, she submitted to a strange condition, on which Leofric made their freedom and liberty to depend; the terms were, that she should ride on horseback naked, from one gate of Coventry to the other. She found means to perform what was agreed on. She let the hair of her head, which at that time was extremely long, hang loose about her; and having ordered proclamation to be made, that upon pain of death none should be seen in the streets, or at the windows, during the time of her being on horseback, behold one, whose curiosity was stronger than his fear of punishment, looked through a hole as Godiva was passing along, and had the threatened punishment inflicted upon him. The memory of this singular event is perpetuated by the statue of a man pointing at the window of the house, and which the inhabitants of Coventry keep in perpetual repair.

The time of Edward's death was every day approaching nearer; and as his age and infirmities crept upon him, so Harold became the more watchful in embracing every opportunity for facilitating his accession to the throne, when the king should die; an event which happened at Christmas 1065, as he was sitting at an entertainment which he gave his nobles on that festival. However, his death was not so sudden, but that he retained his senses for a few minutes, after he had fallen backward in his seat; during which interval, Harold stepped forward, and intreated that he would leave the crown to him; but the dying monarch, though in the arms of death, declared that his promise to the duke of Normandy was not

not to be broken; that he had already been declared heir, and with these words he expired.

The king being dead, Harold commanded that the body should not be taken up directly. The design of so strange an order soon appeared; for to explain away the force and obligation of the oath which he had taken to the duke of Normandy, he, as in a frenzy, appealed to all the company, that he had not meddled with the crown upon the king's decease, and that his engagements to the duke were now literally fulfilled; some approving what he said, he instantly withdrew to St. Paul's cross in the city, and there with his own hand set the crown upon his head, without any of the usual formalities, and was soon after proclaimed king, by the name and title of Harold II. in all parts of the kingdom. This account, taken from the author who wrote in the time of Henry I. the conqueror's son, appears to me the most likely and feasible, and even to confirm the opinion both of Rapin and the Abbe de Prault, that Edward died without any formal will; for hating the Goodwin family, and sensible of the incapacity of Edgar Atheling, his uterine brother's grandson, and of the aversion which the English would naturally have to a foreigner, unless called in by themselves, he left the cause undecided, or to use the words of these distinguished authors, he left the issue "to God alone!"

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

THE
L I F E
O F
WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

BOOK III.

The duke of Normandy's preparations to come to England.—He lands at Pevensey.—The battle of Hastings.

THE duke of Normandy received the news of king Edward's death, and of Harold's seizing upon the crown, from one of these trusty messengers, whom he always kept at the court of London for giving him intelligence. He was riding on his way to the forest of Rouvray to take the diversion of hunting, when the courier gave him the letter. He had a new bow in his hand, in order to make trial of it in the forest. The messenger informed him of the several circumstances attending the king's death, and of Harold's conduct. The news was too important not to divert him from the intended hunting; he gave the

bow in its full bend to one of his attendants, and returning to his house, he became thoughtful and concerned, but discovered neither anger nor inquietude; his nobles came to him, but durst not ask any questions: there even was a profound silence, till the son of count Osborn, in a very polite manner, told him, that now was the time to act, rather than to meditate. "There is not," said he, any subject belonging to your highness, "who does not know the news you have so lately received; they are enraged at the perfidy of Harold, and would every one of them venture their lives and fortunes to vindicate your pretensions, and to promote your undoubted right to the crown of England."

Such expressions as these were the best that could be used on so important an occasion; the concern in which he seemed to be, soon gave place to a becoming cheerfulness; and convening the nobles, who were near his residence, and the burgeses of Rouen, he communicated to them the news he had received. All appeared to be shocked at Harold's perfidy, and declared their resolution to avenge so atrocious a breach of good faith with spirit and with resolution; and in the mean time advised, that an assembly of the states should instantly be called: that very day an embassy was sent over to England, summoning Harold to surrender up the crown, to reproach him with his perjury, and in case of refusal, to declare war against him. Robert count of Bourgogne and count Gilbert, were the plenipotentiaries to put Harold in mind of his engagements and oaths; all which he looked upon as no ways binding, and frankly told the ambassadors, that their master had no manner of right to the throne of England.

land; and that even if the late king had executed any deed in the duke of Normandy's favour, the same became void, as it was done without consent of the states; that as for himself, he founded his claim not only on the known good-will of the late king, but on the suffrages of the whole nation; and that he could not re'inquish a diadem so justly acquired, without betraying the confidence which the people of England had reposed in him; that the engagements he had come under being extorted, partly by fraud, and partly by address, at a time when it was out of his power to refuse them, became null, according to the law of all nations; that they were inconsistent with the duty which he owed to himself, to his family, and to his subjects; and that no person could be bound by contradictory oaths.

So spirited a declaration could not fail to rouse the resentment of a prince of William's temper and character; he convened the states of Normandy, in order to raise money for carrying on the war; but however docile in other cases, they were somewhat averse to grant his present demand; they even told him, that their nation had been drained of men and of money; and that without examining into the justice of his pretensions, they could not think such an enterprize could be for the interest of Normandy; that they did not look upon themselves as obliged to serve their Sovereign in any wars that had not an immediate tendency to promote the happiness and welfare of their native country. So unexpected an answer, taking from him all hopes of any supplies from them, he had recourse to the method of borrowing money from particular persons; and on this occasion he reaped the fruit of

that confidence, which at first he reposed in the burghers of Rouen. The richest among these entered into an association to raise in ready money, and on their credit, a sum not inferior to that which he had demanded of the states; the nobles, who had been attached to him since the peace, on account of his generous treatment, and the singular favours they had received from his hand, had an emulation to discover their zeal upon the occasion; for such was their confidence in the justice and goodness of their prince, that they doubted nothing of being rewarded every one according to his merit, and to the share he should have in promoting the design. Count William, the son of Osborn, engaged to furnish forty vessels on his own charges; so generous an example was soon followed. The Normans in general looked upon themselves as interested not only in revenging their master's quarrel, but in procuring a name and reputation beyond whatever had been attained by their ancestors.

These vigorous preparations did not hinder his sending ambassadors to the several courts of Europe, in order to lay open the injustice and usurpation of Harold; and as nothing could sooner engage the publick in his favour than to have his claim approved by the pope, he sent two of his bishops to Rome, with orders to spare no cost nor expences to get the holy father Alexander II. in his interest. The prelate was flattered so extremely with the submission of the duke, and with the hope which one of the plenipotentiaries gave him of William's making England tributary to the holy see, that he sent him a banner, consecrated with all the ceremonies that can raise veneration and respect; and upon a rumour

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that one of the princes in the neighbourhood of Normandy was preparing to make war upon William, he pursued his zeal so far, as solemnly to excommunicate all such as should dare to give that prince any disturbance in the prosecution of his design; and to the present of the sanctified banner, he added a ring set with a very rich diamond, and incased with one of the hairs of Peter the apostle.

But though he was sure of the interest of the court of Rome, yet he did not remit of his diligence to procure that of France, and of other secular princes, who, he flattered himself, would rather favour his claim upon England than that of a stranger. He repaired in person to St. Germer en Bray, in order to confer with Philip king of France upon the important subject; and as he came unattended, so he thought to gain the king's favour by the confidence thus openly reposed in him. He told the king, that his enterprize, if successful, would turn out to the interest of France, whose vassal he was; and that his design was to do homage for England, as well as for Normandy. The regency seemed to hesitate in accepting any propositions, duly weighing the proposed advantage, which would depend on William's fidelity, with the danger to their country from the aggrandizing a vassal, whose power was already but too exorbitant and great. In a word, the opposition was so strong, that Baldwin, the duke's father-in-law, who was at the head of the assembly, durst not intimate the resolution he had taken of assisting his son-in-law; the utmost he could do was to prevail upon them not to oppose him. This was with some difficulty agreed to, but not before William had engaged

to relinquish Normandy for ever to his eldest son Robert, so soon as he himself should ascend the throne of England; and this they told him was more than the interest of their state would allow.

From this time every thing went on to his wishes: the chief bishops and nobles of Normandy were now so far in his scheme, that they made him a proffer of what men and ships they could furnish, as well as of their own personal attendance. This free and magnanimous undertaking on the part of the chiefs soon influenced the common people, who, in confidence of victory wherever their sovereign should appear, crowded to his standards from every quarter; and the neighbouring princes, weary of a long inactivity, proffered their assistance: such as had formerly fled before him now hastened to charge under his direction; his brother Odo, bishop of Baieux, exerted himself on this occasion; as did the counts d'Aumale and Albemarle, who were married to his two sisters*. Henry IV. emperor of Germany, sent him a body of troops; and what was still more, he soon afterward guarantied Normandy against all invasions from the neighbouring princes. Swaine king of Denmark proffered his assistance; many of the chief nobility in France entered with him as volunteers; as did the independent princes of Ponthieu, Navarre, Poictours, Hufines, and the Sieur de Tours: so that of all the neighbouring potentates, none gave him the least disturbance, except Conan, count of Britany, who had been

* They were all the children of Robert duke of Normandy by William's mother, which is a further proof that she was married to him.

excited by Harold, and unexpectedly broke with the duke of Normandy, to whom he wrote a strange letter, a copy whereof Orderic Vital, an author of reputation and character, has transmitted to us.

"I am informed, said he, that you are upon the point of crossing the sea, in order to conquer the kingdom of England, and rejoice in the advancement of the glory which you are going to acquire by that expedition; but I pray you in the mean time to begin with an act of justice, and to restore the dutchy of Normandy to me. Duke Robert, whose son you say you are, when ready to depart for the holy land, gave these dominions to his cousin duke Alan, who was my father, in case he should die in his passage thither; but in a short time after, when my father went to take upon him the government, according to the intentions of duke Robert, he was poisoned either by you, or by your accomplices, and died at Wemontier. I was then but an infant, I could not do myself justice; and you, who are but a bastard, have been maintained in the possession of that inheritance which appertained to me. To-day I have it in my power to avail myself of my rights, and do hereby declare war against you, if you do not forthwith surrender up Normandy to me."

This letter, so full of misrepresentation, and mustering up a claim which never existed, being communicated to the governors of the frontier towns, these discovered an uncommon resentment, which nothing would have diverted from ripening into action, but the intrigues carrying on at other courts against that of Normandy; for the count

d'Anjou stirred up Gautier count de Meulan to avail himself of the present juncture for reviving his pretensions to the province of Maine; to prevent the effects of which, the earl of Flanders proffered to use his utmost endeavours to sow such seeds of discontent and of jealousy at these courts, and particularly that of England, as might divert Harold's preparations against the intended invasion; but at the same time he desired a bond from under William's hand, engaging to give him one part of the future conquest; but the duke, being piqued at so strange a request, and sensible of the small influence which his brother-in-law had at the court of France, with whom he could only prevail to shut her eyes at William's progress, he desired till next day to return an answer, which was accordingly appointed; he had folded up a piece of clean parchment in the form of a letter, and under the direction wrote the following lines:

Beau frere en Angleterre aurez,
Ce qui dedans escript vous trouverez.

You shall a brother have in England, where
You just shall find what is inserted here.

The circumstance of desiring time had filled the count with the most sanguine expectations; but on opening the letter, and finding it to contain nothing, he appeared not a little chagrined at so significant a piece of raillery: the bearer of it, who was Hugh de Grene Mesnil, did all he could to appease him; he told him, that as the dutchess of Normandy was his sister, so the fruit of all the duke's toils would redound to the advantage

vantage of her children; and that it would not be prudent to contend with him now, and so the matter was dropt on his part, while the duke de Bretagne failed in the expedition against William; for having marched to Gautier, a fortress upon the frontiers of Anjou and of Maine, one of the chamberlains poisoned his horse's bridle, his gloves, and the hunter's horn, which he ordinarily carried with him; so that his highness going to see the troops defile through a narrow pass, in order to enter the village, which had already surrendered, he without thought lifted up the gloves frequently to his mouth; and the poison was so penetrating, that he was soon mortally seized, and in a few minutes expired. This accident was the more fortunate for William, as it at once put an end to a war, which his enemies intended to prolong as much as possible. So sudden a catastrophe drew a suspicion, that the duke de Bretagne had been poisoned by William's procuring; and what confirmed the same was, that the chamberlain was one of those who carried the declaration of war into Normandy, whither he fled for refuge on account of the treason he had committed. Such mysterious occurrences, at so great a distance of time, can be only cleared up from considering the different parts of William's character; and no writer of antiquity ever charged him with perfidy or breach of faith: and the most impartial to his memory attribute this incident to that inexpressible good fortune which constantly removed every obstacle to his undertaking; nor is it unlikely that the chamberlain was deeply affected with the prospect of vengeance, which he foresaw would fall upon his native country; and that taking the hint from that

that passage of the letter which falsely charged William with having poisoned the father, he would make a merit of poisoning the son, and so at once put an end to the war : for the Britons, on the death of their leader, returned to their native country, and William was too intent upon his English expedition to pursue them thither. And now he began to see the most signal interpositions of providence in his behalf, not only to baffle the attempts of his enemies, but even to forward his scheme. Every occurrence that lately happened in England had a tendency this way ; the people of Wales were agitated with all the furiousness of grief and resentment for the loss of Griffith their beloved and amiable prince ; they had a just sense of Harold's baseness ; the Northumbrians were no less provoked at the oppression and brutality of Tosti ; the Scots, whose king was personally acquainted with William when at the court of England, were too closely connected with the people of Wales and of Northumberland, to draw a sword in favour of the Goodwin family, who were even at variance among themselves ; the very farmers and vassals, who lived in the immense estates which Goodwin and his sons had accumulated, lay groaning under a yoke ; there were no generals nor disciplined soldiers in the kingdom : the clergy, who were mostly Normans, would be ready to declare for their native prince. In a word, distrust and jealousy reigned in the councils of king Harold, who was cruel in his nature, and weighed down with blood, so that the duke expected more success from the situation of things at that time in England, than he did from any army he could bring into it, and what still raised his hopes, he had a prospect

of more than ordinary assistance to further his cause.

Tosti, whose history we have partly given, and who had been roaming from one kingdom to another, ever since the time of his quitting England, did all at once appear at Rouen, and proffered to the duke to raise an insurrection among the English, and with all possible warmth of expression engaged to promote the enterprize. William seemed to believe his sincerity, but at the same time excused himself from furnishing him either with money or with troops, as his own exigencies required all his resources; he therefore proposed that Tosti should exert himself in doing somewhat in England, and in the mean time recommended to him to apply to the earl of Flanders for shipping and for troops. Accordingly he set out for Flanders, and having got some ships and some soldiers, he loosed from thence, and with a fair wind sailed toward the southern coast of England, which, being part of Harold's patrimonial estate, he infested with impunity; and after ravaging the Isle of Wight, he disembarked at Sandwich, where receiving intelligence that Harold had prepared a navy to intercept him, he reembarked, and a fair wind springing up, he sailed northward, and making a descent upon Yorkshire, he ravaged the same as if it had been a conquered country. As Harold, who was apprehensive of a visit from the Normans, did not choose to quit the southern coast, he sent a commission to his brother-in-law Morcar to raise some troops, in order to make head against Tosti. The command was obeyed, a small army was mustered; but the same being routed by Tosti's veterans, and by the few English who had joined them,

them, Morcar was obliged to fly into Scotland, whither Tosti pursued him as far as the border, and even endeavoured to draw the king of that country to take part in the war; but failing in this, and hearing of a numerous army being got together to attack him, he again reembarked his troops, and withdrew to the court of Norway, where king Harold, surnamed Harfager, and grandson to Canute, needed no weighty arguments to persuade him to leave the deep snows and tremendous rocks of his own country, in order to seek a settlement in another, which for the goodness of its soil, and richness of its produce, was even admired in these days of ignorance and sloth; he had already reduced one part of the Orkney Isles, and now was preparing a fleet to extend his conquests.

The retreat of Tosti did not so much embarrass the duke of Normandy, as it filled the court of England with a belief that they were delivered from all her enemies. Harold was acquainted with the duke de Bretagne's irruption into Normandy, but had not heard of his disaster; the winter was fast approaching, and in all probability William would at least defer his expedition till the spring following. Upon these false suppositions he remitted his preparations, while his rival was intent upon repairing by his diligence the time that had been lost, through the expedition of Conan, the earl of Anjou, and the dallying of his brother-in-law; and what was of the utmost advantage to him, the attention of the English was diverted to make head against the Norwegians; for Tosti had entered the Humber with a fleet of 500 sail, and had no sooner landed the troops, than these ravaged

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the towns and villages situated on that river, before any forces could make head against them. Being loaded with booty, they reembarked, and sailed, in order to make a descent upon Northumberland, where their thirst for plunder induced them to commit all manner of cruelty. Morcar the governor raised some troops to oppose them; but these were almost all cut in pieces to a man. The Norwegians after this marched to the city of York, whose inhabitants thought it more prudent to surrender upon terms of being safe in their persons and effects, than to expose themselves to the resentment of a furious enemy. In the mean time, as the continual plunder they were amassing together hindered them from making long marches, so Harold, who had been apprized of Morcar's disaster, was advancing with a numerous army; he joined his brother-in-law near Stamford, and soon came in sight of the enemy, having the Humber between them and him. There was a bridge over the river, and Harold observing the indispensable necessity of fighting, ordered the bridge to be attacked, and after an obstinate resistance carried it; however, they found their impetuosity not a little stemmed by the surprizing prowess of one Norwegian Cavalier, who with his battle-ax stood at the entrance of the bridge, and killed no less than forty of those who attacked it; and indeed might have done further mischief, had not an English soldier gone under the bridge, bored a hole, and through it thrust a lance into the bowels of the Norwegian; who having thus gloriously lost his life, Harold became master of the bridge, and the English troops pouring down like a torrent upon the enemy, began a very obstinate engagement, which

which ended in the total defeat of the Norwegians, who were driven from the field with a terrible slaughter; Tosti and Harfager died with their swords in their hands, and the latter was killed by the king of England; but Tosti fell in the promiscuous carnage of the day, which was so great, that of the whole army that came from Norway in 500 vessels, scarce as many escaped as to fill twenty; and these Olans the son of Harfager carried off to Norway by the permission of the victorious enemy. One may easily form an idea of the greatness of the plunder, as Harold not only found upon the field of battle all the effects they had brought from Norway, but the immense booty they had amassed together since their arrival in Yorkshire.

Could the Normans have appeared in England at the time of the battle of Stamford, the same might have reached London without opposition; but as if to render the glory of the enterprise more compleat, their fleet and their army had been for a month detained at Valery by contrary winds, which William observing, he ordered the coffin of St. Valery to be exposed, and the wind chopping about the very next night, and proving favourable, the whole army constructed the event into a miracle; and being animated with the observation of so many fortunate events, they wanted only to be carried into action. Indeed the army made a noble and a splendid appearance; for the duke did not so much regard the number, as the goodness of his troops, who were all picked men, the most robust and best proportioned that could be found; such as could endure the fatigues and hardships of a war, whose continuance was uncertain, but which in any event must be de-

gerous and severe. One might see in that army French, Flemings, men from Britany, and in a word from every nation; for after the pope had thundered his excommunication against Harold, and declared in favour of the Normans, the duke's enterprize was looked upon to be a matter of religion. He had by his politeness to the court of Rome engaged the clergy in his interest, and these put up prayers for the success of his arms; whereas Harold had even chagrined the English clergy, by his snatching the crown without the usual formalities. The bishops of Normandy contributed all in their power; the rich chapters and abbeys had an emulation which should furnish the largest sums; and the duke had the precaution to keep exact lists of all that he received, in order that he might repay them with interest after his affairs were settled; he even kept a catalogue, in which the name of every soldier in the army was inserted: the principal officers were Eustace count of Boulogne, William son of Richard count d'Evreux, Geoffry son of Rotrou count de Mortagne, Robert son of Roger count de Beaumont, Aimery de Tonars, Hugh count d'Estaples, Gautier Giffart, Hugh de Grento Mesnil, and William de la Garenne. There was not an individual among them, who did not partition something for himself. William heard them, and studied their dispositions with candour and assiduity; to some he promised beneficial employments; to others honours; to a third sort riches, and opulent estates: and as for the soldiers, he not only augmented their pay considerably, but gave them his word, that in case of success, they should live at ease and in affluence during the remainder of their lives. As to the volunteers,

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some asked pensions, others, that he would enlist them in his service; but to these he made answer, that every one should have what he could honourably acquire. Some asked a village, some desired a castle, others asked a lady in marriage; and to each he promised a grant of their request to the utmost of his power. In a word, every circumstance contributed to spirit up the army, and to fill every individual with hopes.

At last, without appearing any way concerned for the fate of the Norwegian army, or if the English forces returned from the north to give him battle, he put to sea with a more numerous fleet than had ever been in the channel at any time before. It was proposed that he should land at Deal, the place where Julius Cæsar had disembarked; but he pulled out of his bosom the Commentaries of that great author, and shewed the difference between the situation of things at that time and now. The wind was fair, he arrived before Pevensey after a passage of sixteen hours, on the 28th of September, with a fleet of 1000 sail, and an army of 60000 men. One cannot well judge of the size of the ships by the number of men they contained, because some of them were much larger, some were only small craft for carrying ammunition, provision, and military stores.

After examining the different historians upon the number of the ships, I humbly prefer the account given by the author, who wrote in the time of Henry I. and according to him the duke of Normandy had

WILLIAM the CONQUEROR. 75

	Ships	Sold
From William Fitzosborn	60	
From Hugh, afterward earl of Chester	60	
From Hugh de Mounfort	30	60
From Romus Almoner of Fescanny, } and afterward bishop of Lincoln }	1	20
From Nicolas abbot of St. Albin	15	100
From Robert earl of Angis	60	
From Fulco Daun	40	
From Gerald Falkener	40	
From William earl of Diurons	80	
From Roger de Montgomery	60	
From Roger de Beaumont	60	
From Odo bishop of Baienx	100	
From Robert de Mortimer	120	
From Walter Gifford	30	100

In all 771

Over and above, he had smaller vessels to make up the complement, and these were furnished him according to every one's ability. The ship wherein he himself sailed, was called Morr. His sponse Matilda had caused the same to be built without his knowledge; and ordered the figure of her youngest son, who was then a child upon the breast, to be cut out in gold, and to be set on the head of the ship, pointing with the fore finger of his right hand toward England, and with the left holding an ivory cup to his mouth. She surprized William by coming to Valery in that vessel, which she with the utmost sweetness, and in the most delightful attitude, presented to him before the whole army, and he received

received it with no less an agreeable politeness and complacency.

Such was the fleet, these were the troops, such were the commanders, and this was the glorious leader who arrived upon the coast of Sussex to wrest the English sceptre out of an usurper's hands. It was indeed an undertaking only fit for an hero, and which none but an hero of the first rank was capable of undertaking; and so devoted was the army to him, though various in arms, in habit, and in language, that not a single person deserted, and to the astonishment of all, not a person appeared to oppose their landing. On the contrary, the inhabitants fled off in a consternation, which was quickly diffused over the neighbouring counties.

But though the coast was clear, yet the forces were landed with the utmost circumspection. The archers first debarked, being clothed in short coats, and their faces shaved almost up to their ears; next followed the body guards in battalia; they formed while in the water, and in that posture marched to the beach with their carriages and horses before them; after these came the carpenters, masons, smiths, and braziers, carrying with them several compounding parts of three wooden castles just ready to be set up; and last of all the duke, whose foot stumbling, as he jumped from the chalupe upon the beach, he recovered himself so well upon the other, that he almost sunk in the ground up to the ankle, and falling forward, he sustained himself upon his hands, and tore a piece of the clay in endeavouring to save himself; all which was construed as ominous of the duke's miscarriage; but he cried out with a loud voice, " Know that this is
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"the seizing of that land which God has made me to take hold of with both my hands; and that with the assistance of God, and of you my friends, I will conquer it from my enemy; and whoever shall dare to oppose me, he shall be destroyed." At that very instant one of the cavaliers run to a house near by, and which was thatched with turf; and taking a piece of it, he carried it to the duke, and holding it to him, said, "Sir, I hereby offer you seisin of this country and kingdom, and promise, that so long as one of us cavaliers, or of our descendants, shall exist, we shall acknowledge you for our Lord." But nothing encouraged the army so much as a plentiful dinner, which William ordered to be prepared at Pevensey, where the houses, though deserted, were yet well stored with all kind of provision; for their harvest was got in, and the country about abounded with cattle, and all sorts of grain. The duke sat down with his principal officers, and became more than ordinarily chearful; the whole company turned exceeding jovial. One of them told him, that an astrologer, who had mingled with his troops, in order to utter his predictions, and who had confidently given out, while at Valery, that Harold would upon their landing deliver up the kingdom of England, had been drowned in his passage, with all that were in the vessel with him. "The man was certainly not wise, replied the duke, to think more upon another than upon himself. By the mercy of God I have passed so far, but do not know what will happen to me farther;" but in the mean time think it best to send back the fleet, that we may have no hope, but in our bravery and discipline.

Here he ordered a fort to be built, in which he continued four days, till observing that the army wanted immediately to enter upon action, he decamped, and marched along the shore towards Hastings; while on the road, he received the first news of Tostig's defeat, and of the slaughter of the Norwegian army: on which he called his nobles and ecclesiastics together, and said, "You see the prophecy of the astrologer is false, we must have a battle; and here I vow, that if God give me the victory, on whatever place the same shall happen, I will build a church to be consecrated to the Blessed Trinity, and to St. Martin, for the absolution of the sins of Edward the Confessor, my own sins, the sins of my spouse Matilda, the sins of such as have attended me in this expedition, but particularly such as shall die in the battle." Here he ordered a larger fort to be built than the former, and immediately published a manifesto, containing the motives for his arrival, and the end proposed thereby.

1. To claim the kingdom of England as donor to his cousin king Edward, the last lawful possessor thereof; and that not only on account of their consanguinity, but in point of gratitude, as the confessor had owed his crown, his life, and his dignity to him.

2. To revenge the death of his cousin Alfred, brother to the same king Edward, and of the Normans, who had accompanied him into England, no less cruelly than perfidiously slain by earl Goodwin's command.

3. To revenge the indignity done to Robert archbishop of Canterbury, who for no other reason, but because of his being a Norman by birth,

birth, was, at the instigation of Harold, and his father earl Goodwin, exiled by their late illustrious king. This last article was added either out of complaisance to the pope, or to procure the favour of the clergy, who became chagrined at the thoughts of an archbishop being questioned by any but themselves.

Every thing being done that prudence could dictate, or foresight could direct to, he, after leaving a sufficient garrison in the new fort for securing the landings from Normandy, and a retreat in case of a disaster, marched into the town of Hastings, where he raised a third fortress, and planted a garrison. To such of the people as had not deserted their houses, he was extremely humane and affable, in this setting a good example to his soldiers, among whom he caused the strictest discipline to be observed, not only to prevent their falling into disorder, but on every occasion informing them, that it was cruel to spoil those who had provided bread for them, and who were soon to become the props and supporters of his throne. Having established so good a beginning, he left no stone unturned to procure intelligence, and one morning went from the camp, attended with no more than fifteen horsemen; but whether that they missed their way, or that the roads were extremely broken and ragged, 'tis certain they all returned on foot, and some of the horses having fallen down through fatigue, they were obliged to walk, though incumbered by their arms and accoutrements. Of these who accompanied him, Fitzosborn was much distressed and jaded, and being ready to faint under the weight of his armour, the duke eased him of his helmet, and carried the same to Hastings upon his own shoulder:

der: an incident which, though little in itself, did yet raise the love and admiration of the whole army to such a degree, that they wanted only to die in the field under their sovereign's command. In this manner he continued for a fortnight, both to refresh his troops, and to see how his claim to the crown would be relished, and his arrival in England would be received and approved. But after that time was expired, he was roused by the approach of Harold, who returned from the defeat of his brother and the Norwegians; and who, by great journeys, had hastened after the northern expedition to London, which he appointed to be the place of rendezvous for his forces, who were now drawing together from every quarter. Upon mustering the troops, he found them to have been much impaired by the late battle against Harfager; and that the new levies were ill disciplined, and worse affected to his person and title, both which were generally hated; however, he retained them, as they served to increase the number of his army, which by this time was very great: he trusted in his standing troops, who were numerous and brave, and whom he kept as his body guards, and endeavoured to win upon the rest, by treating the noblemen who commanded them with respect and affability.

In the mean time the duke of Normandy sent a messenger to Harold, demanding the kingdom; and he executing his commission with all the spirit and bluntness of a soldier, so exasperated the king, that with difficulty he could refrain from doing violence to his person. To retaliate this treatment, Harold dispatched one of his secretaries to the duke, charging him in an high tone to
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make no long stay in England, but to return as speedily as he had entered it rashly. The duke only laughed at the proposal, and in a jeering manner said, "As I came not upon your master's treaty, so neither will I return at his command:" and then added with great seriousness, "I am not come to have altercations with your king; I am come to fight, and am desirous to fight: I will be ready to fight with him, albeit I had but ten thousand such combatants, as I have brought sixty thousand with me."

War being thus inevitable, king Harold lost no time in appointing and ordering his army; and being now ready to take the field, his march was retarded for a little by the arrival of his mother, who first advised him in all the attitudes, and with all the persuasion of a princess, not to adventure his person in the battle, which she foresaw was soon to ensue: but her advice prevailing nothing, she with the most moving affection, and with many tears, earnestly begged of him that he would not venture the representative of the great Swano to the doubtful fortune of war. Her words and intreaties were equally lost upon him, notwithstanding the impression which her solicitations made upon all who were present; and her behaviour raised the greater wonder, as her importunity seemed to proceed from no visible cause, and to be contrary to her former conduct.

The mother of the king being removed, he set out for Sussex to meet the Norman army, never halting till within seven miles of them; and these no less eager to come to blows, and to finish their business, hastened toward him; so that upon the 12th of October they were within view of

of each other. Harold, from the moment of his setting out, had resolved upon giving battle to the enemy, and the arrival of a body of troops from Swane king of Denmark, contrary to the solemn promise of that prince to the duke of Normandy, not a little animated him thereto.

That day several spies were sent out both from the king and the duke, to discover each other's state and condition; the English spies were taken, but the Norman spies escaped: the former being detected, were brought before the duke, who used them courteously, and ordered them to be carried through all his troops, to be shewn their discipline and disposal, to be kindly entertained, and then to be sent back with rewards. At their return, they told Harold that the Normans looked more like an army of priests than of soldiers, by their great silence and order in the camp, as well as by their faces, which were all shaved; in a word, they were full of the praises of the enemy. Whereupon many of the nobles, and Girth, younger brother to the king, earnestly advised him not to play his whole state at one throw; not to be so carried with a desire of victory, as not to wait the time to attain it; that it was the interest and custom of invaders to fight immediately, because they are then in the height and flower of their strength, the meridian of their courage and impetuosity, while it was the business of the assailed to waste and consume their enemies by delay, and content themselves with observing their motions, and disconcerting their measures, intercepting their provisions, and cutting off their supplies; that in a short time the Norman army would be reduced to straits and difficulties, the consequence of being in a strange country,

country, to whose air they were not accustomed, and whose language they did not understand; that winter was fast approaching, and that their army, consisting of different nations, would soon fall into disorder and mutiny: in a word, that, when an army made up of different people first came together, they generally were invincible, from the emulation in the several corps to outdo each other; but if they be left to themselves, jealousies will creep in among them, prey upon their vitals, rob them of their courage, so that in time they fall into disorders, and even disband of their own accord. "But, continued he, if you are resolved upon a battle, you will do well to withdraw your own person, to employ your authority in mustering another army, to be ready to stop the enemy with fresh forces in case of a disaster; and if your majesty will be pleased to commit the charge of the encounter to me, I will not fail to express the love of a brother, the care and courage of a commander; for as I am now bound to the duke of Normandy by oath, so I shall either prevail with a better grace, or at least die with a quieter conscience."

Both these advices were rejected; the first out of a violent impetuosity of temper, which generally looks upon a delay to give battle, as an indication of cowardice, and a servile despoiling of time; and he esteemed the second as shameful to his reputation, and of the worst tendency to the state of his affairs, a blot upon his late victory, and the ready way to diminish the courage of those who were engaged in his cause: he extenuated the power and worth of the Normans, calling them a company of priests, because of the

fashion

fashion of shaving their faces. But, continued he, whatever they are, I have examined the matter thoroughly, and have reconciled myself to every event, except to that of cowardice and infamy; resolved not to outlive my honour, I will venture my person in defence of my crown and kingdom.

After this the duke sent a monk of the abbey of Fechamp to Harold, with an offer of these conditions, either to relinquish the kingdom upon the most advantageous terms, or to hold it under him, or, in order to prevent the effusion of blood, to decide the contest by single combat; or, lastly, to submit the whole affair to the determination of the pope, according to the laws of Normandy, or of England. All these were rejected by Harold, who, in his turn, proposed that the duke should withdraw his forces, and reimburse the English in the expences wherein they had been involved by the descent which he made. This proposal was laughed at; and so the two commanders prepared to decide the controversy by a general engagement; and to save time they agreed to meet each other next day, which being the 14th of October, and Harold's birth-day, was conjectured to be an omen of his success.

The night of the 13th was remarkably dark, which might be owing partly to the age of the moon, then within four days of her change, and partly to the fogs that arise in these parts toward the close of harvest. Each of the armies spent the time according to the custom of their respective countries; the English, given to habitual carousing and drunkenness, spent the silent hours in feasting and jollity, and made the night resound with songs and with shouting. On the other hand, the Normans observed a profound
silence

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silence, being entirely taken up with devotion; so that next morning they appeared fresh and vigorous, drawing satisfaction from their duty, encouragement from their leaders, and confidence from their prayers.

At the dawn of the morning, the king and the duke were in readiness; each of them marshalled their forces, and drew them up in order of battle; courage and resolution sparkled in every eye, and fierce expectation sat upon every countenance: for the English army was animated by their late success, and the Danish succours; and the Normans were inspired with the love of glory and of victory. Their leader had told them, that their own glory was concerned no less than his; that they were not less interested in the victory, to which he was to open the way, than he was; and that they had hitherto been victorious. His brother Odo seconded his words with devout and pious ejaculations, and in the mean time ordered his arms to be brought him. And here was an instance not only of William's fortitude, but really an indication of a goodness of heart, which astonished the whole army! When his gentleman stretched out the buckler, he held it by the wrong end, and the inside outmost; which observing, he with great composure, and a smiling countenance, said to the soldiers standing near him, "If I believed in the doctrine of lots and of chances, I would decline giving battle to-day; I never believed in ominous fortuities, nor ever did I love such as did; but in every business, which was my duty to set about, I always commended myself to my Creator." Having uttered these words, he, after a pious ejaculation, as his manner was, com-

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mitted

mitted himself and his cause to the Almighty; and then put on his arms. This and other incidents caused an universal harmony among the Normans, while distrust and jealousy raged in the English army, both for that they were not properly rewarded for their bravery at Stamford, and that the Danish auxiliaries seemed to share too much of Harold's countenance and favour; so that untimely altercations began between the king and his brother Girth, as well as between others of inferior rank, when peace and harmony ought to have prevailed.

Scarce had the morning dawn appeared, when the officers of each army hastened to range the troops in order of battle. William drew up his in three lines; the first was commanded by Montgomery, and by William the son of Fitzosborn; it consisted of the light armed infantry, the archers, formed in battalions, with some slingers between the intervals, and to begin the battle; the second, consisting of the heavy armed infantry, was headed by Geoffrey Martel, earl of Anjou; the cavalry made up the third line, and was formed so as to cover the wings of the two first. The duke, who had reserved the command of this to himself, stood in the middle upon a rising ground, whence he could best survey the whole series of the action.

Harold, on the other side, ranged his troops on the brow of a hill; and the better to retain them in their several stations, he ordered the cavalry to dismount, and to join the heavy armed battalions, who being closely compacted together, he commanded the whole to be formed in the shape of the Roman sconce, that is, the soldiers in the first and last ranks to cover their bodies

with

with their bucklers, while those in the middle line were to cover their heads with theirs; a disposition which rendered them almost impenetrable, and secured them against the arrows and the slings. He alighted from his horse, and placing himself near his standard, he caused an intimation to be made through the army, that they were either to conquer or die. The Kentish battalions were in the front, the Londoners in the second line, those of the other counties were in the rear, and the Danish auxiliaries made the wings.

Such were the dispositions on either side for a general engagement; the interest of the two commanders was the same; the officers were equally desirous of coming to action: and the number of the foldiers was nearly equal: every thing wore the aspect of slaughter and of blood, and prognosticated one of those terrible battles, where fury was blended with a greatness of soul, and where obstinacy and valour were mingled together. The descriptions given by the first historians of this terrible engagement are so contradictory, that Mr. de Rabin was averse to enter upon it; however, others of later times have not been startled to begin the arduous theme: the Abbe de Paroult, Mr. Guthrie, and Mr. Hume, have been very happy in their account of that important day, and others might be named upon this occasion; so that from comparing the different relations together, we will venture upon a delineation of it.

As the two armies stood fronting each other, the duke having thoroughly examined the position of the English, he galloped from the place on which he was standing, and all at once appeared

in the front of the first line ; and after commending himself and his troops to the God of armies in the devoutest manner, he asked one of the foldiers if he could shew him the place wherein Harold was stationed. The man answered, " He " is on yonder opposite hill," pointing to it, " among that compacted multitude, for I see his " standard there." Then replied the duke, " I " trust in the mercy of God Almighty, whose " judgments, though concealed, yet are always " just and equitable ; he will this day avenge " me upon Harold, who, notwithstanding that " he is perjured, yet dares to advance in battle " against me." With these words he clapt spurs to his horse, and galloped strait to the place where Harold was standing, and was followed by the cavalry whom he had joined. As he was before the ranks, a champion from Harold's troops advanced to meet him ; but he with one stroke laid his antagonist on the ground. This brought on an engagement between the cavalry of both armies, in which the courage and resolution of the one balanced the skill and discipline of the other, till William ordered a retreat, which the enemy taking for a real flight, they began to pursue with such alacrity as to break their ranks, and to disorder their lines. This was what the duke expected, therefore embracing the opportunity, the Normans returned upon them in confusion, and made a prodigious slaughter. Feints of this kind were frequent enough on that day ; for the Normans knew the art of war better than their enemies ; and to this superiority of skill in making sham flights was owing all their advantage. Such was the beginning of the engagement ; in which Harold, finding that his troops could not maintain their

their

their station in the plain against the Norman cavalry, he was resolved to keep his ground upon the declivity of the hill, and the duke saw into the extent of the difficulty in attacking the enemy there, and which could only be done by the archers and slingers; he therefore ordered a general charge to be sounded, so that the whole army moved at once, singing with a military air a solo of that hymn that was composed by Rollo the first duke of Normandy, in honour of his Creator, at the time of his receiving the investiture of the duchy from Charles IX. of France. A shower of darts was the first salute which they gave their enemies; but this doing no great execution against that impenetrable wall formed by the bucklers, they advanced to a more close engagement with sabre and with hatchet.

The English sustained the shock with great firmness and intrepidity, and opening their ranks to let their slingers pass through, these galled the Normans prodigiously, and killed a great number in the first onset. Harold, willing to improve the advantage, ordered fresh troops to advance, and to them the duke opposed some squadrons; which were not only repelled, but the cavalry and infantry of Bretagne, who were stationed upon the left wing, with some other auxiliaries, were put to flight; and to increase the disaster, rumour was spread through the left wing by the ruse of Harold, that the duke had been killed by the stroke of a lance; at which the Normans began to shrink back, and to be filled with horror and consternation. William, being alarmed

Abbe de Parault, tome II. p. 164.

at the fatal consequences that might attend such a rumour, and knowing that not a moment was to be lost, he rode along the lines, and called with a loud voice, " My fellow-soldiers, take courage, " for your leader is still alive ; " he even took his helmet from off his head, and shewed them his countenance, and restraining them from flight, he cried out, " that he was come to perish with " them." His presence and his voice inspired the repulsed battalions ; the fainting squadrons were animated to return again to the charge ; so that rallying on all hands, the troops poured in upon the enemy from every quarter sabre in hand, and drove them back in their turn. Many were killed during this close engagement, and such as fled were cut in pieces ; for the Norman officers ordered no quarter to be given. Thus was the battle restored solely by the intrepidity of the duke on that part, while on every other the fight was exceeding fierce and obstinate, without any visible advantage.

In the Norman army the troops of the different nations fought under their respective standards ; the Britons, who had again taken courage, and the French on the southern side of the Loire, who are more properly the true French, with those on the northern, among whom the Normans shook the English phalanx in several places, though not without great loss. On this occasion Robert, son to the famous Roger count de Beaumont, and nephew to Hugh count de Mantes, with Toussain du Bec Crespin, Roger Montgomery, and William Mallett, performed prodigies of valour ; but the example of William was beyond all, it being sufficient to rouse the coward himself into action. He was in a manner every where, and flew like

lightening

lightening into the place where was the greatest danger; he encouraged with his voice, and with his hand to press forward; his sword was streaming with gore, and his armour was all covered over with dust and with blood; he had three horses killed under him, and one of them by so furious a stroke, that the hatchet, after cutting off the head, pierced deep into the ground; so fierce and so full was the blow. All this while, the body of the English army stood firm upon the declivity, and the Normans had suffered greatly through the disadvantage of the ground. The fear which naturally would arise from it, made William have recourse to a stratagem; he sent an order to his generals to make the troops first halt, then retire, and in some places to disperse. Such a motion was both dangerous and delicate; but then he had charged his brother Odo, and the other bishops who had mingled among the ranks, to call out with a loud voice at the time when the troops were beginning to fly, that all was well; that every thing was done by the contrivance and order of their leader. The clergy, who, as Moses had ascended up to a mountain to survey the battle between the armies of Israel and of Amalek, held out the crucifix, with uplifted eyes and hands solicited the God of heaven for the victory, and exhorted the troops to stand their ground; so that there was a perfect harmony between the duke's orders, the exhortations of the clergy, and the rallying of the troops. The English fell into the snare; many of their battalions fetched an half compass about the Normans, and planted themselves at the place which these were to pass through, in order to intercept them; they were quickly upon the

the plain ; but before they could form, the Norman horse were upon them, and cut them in pieces. The troops rallied on all sides, and returned to the charge in one compacted column ; while the English, who had been every where decoyed from their station, were now in separate corps, which one after another was destroyed by the Norman cavalry. And now the attack became general, but the English were not able to sustain it ; consternation and horror seized upon them ; their ranks were broken on all sides, and the wide openings left a passage to William, who plunged into them at the head of some brave volunteers, crying out, *Notre Dame, Dieu aide, Our Lady, with the help of God* ; while the cry on the other side, *Sainte Croix, Dieu tout puissant, The Holy Cross, God is almighty*, was but faint and languid, on account of their disaster. The Normans even pierced to the grand standard, where Harold's two brothers were killed, with most of the English nobility ; he himself having been wounded some few minutes before in the eye with an arrow, fell down under the heavy strokes of some who knew him, and looked upon his death as the most important fruit of their victory. The remainder of the action was only one continued havock ; some of the fugitives were pursued to a rising ground, where they formed in pretty good order, faced about on all sides, and with their javelins and pointed bills, which of all weapons give the most ghastly and deplorable wounds, they renewed the fight, and with great slaughter repulsed the enemy. Count Eustachius, one of the duke's aid de camps, supposing fresh forces to be arrived, fled off with fifty soldiers, and meeting the duke, he secretly rounded

wounded in his ear, that if he advanced any farther, he was undone, and with these words he received a violent blow between the shoulders from a stone, and fell to the ground; but after voiding some blood both at the mouth and nose, he was recovered. By this unexpected stand, many of the noblest among the Normans were cut down, which moved their leader to proceed no farther, but to order up the archers, who plied the enemy so with their arrows, that they were almost all cut in pieces. Others fled through a watry channel, wherein many were stifled and destroyed. The remainder scattered in smaller companies, and were favoured in their flight by increasing darkness, the duke not caring to pursue in a strange country, and in the night-time. Many fled unaccompanied to their own habitations, while Edwin and earl Morcar conducted the shattered remains, and marched to London with them.

Such was the battle near Hastings, and such was the fate of Harold II. king of England, who from the tenor of his actions seems to have been possessed of some good natural talents, but without that degree of judgment and understanding, which render them of use to society, and truly beneficial to one's self. He was descended from a family, whose hands had been imbrued in blood, and who never hesitated at any thing to accomplish their designs. He was born with all the ambition of his ancestors, but not with that degree of sagacity so requisite for hiding the deformity of it. He wanted that prudence and wisdom so necessary to win upon the minds of his soldiers. His courage and resolution, which no person ever denied, were not tempered with
that

that foresight and precaution, so necessary towards crowning them with success. His ill-timed parsimony, in not sharing the spoil at the battle of Stamford, shews that generosity and good sense were not constituent parts of his character; and his improving so little, while under the eye of so great a warrior as the duke of Normandy, does small honour either to his capacity, his genius, or to his application. While with the duke, he had an opportunity of seeing the feints and stratagems of war put in practice; he saw the execution done by the long bow, and yet took no example from it; whereas for speaking a word, William would at that time have shewn him every thing. A prince of Henry V's genius would have carried a bow, or a bundle of arrows out of Normandy as a pattern, and would have given encouragement to artificers to come over; but this was not the good fortune of Harold, who, to say the most of him, was a courageous and intrepid warrior, but a weak prince; an ambitious, unthinking, and unfortunate man. He was trained up in the arts of oppression and tyranny from his birth; for in his time the common people were but a degree above the condition of slaves, the persons of the farmer and vassal, their corn, their cattle, nay, and children, were all at the devotion of their superiors. 'Tis true, some men of humanity and goodness were to be found among these; but indeed the Goodwin family were not endowed with these inestimable flowers: his calling in the Danes to his assistance could not be grateful to a people, whose fathers had so lately bled under the Danish yoke, whose cities and towns had been sacked by the Danish soldiers, whose country had been often a field of blood,

whole

whose wives had been forced in the sight of their husbands, while the virgins and maidens had been deflowered before the eyes of their parents. Had Harold gained the victory, the Danes would in all probability have revived their obsolete claims upon the estates which had been taken from them in the preceding reigns; nor is it unlikely but an additional article of expence would be charged for their present assistance. All which was prevented by the victory which the Normans obtained; however, he died in the bed of honour amidst sixty thousand of his countrymen, and six thousand of his enemies.

The conqueror being in full possession of the field, ordered the whole army to be called together, and on their knees to return an immediate and solemn thanksgiving for so complete a victory, and recollecting his vow, he told them that the place whereon they stood should be called *Battle*, and that on it should be built an abbey to be called by that name, to continue as a perpetual monument of the favour of the Almighty toward him, and of his gratitude toward the Almighty. This done, he ordered a pavilion to be erected in the midst of these bodies, whom death had made to sleep so quietly together. He spent the night in caressing his soldiers, congratulating them on their bravery, and in returning them thanks for the services they had done; and next day he ordered his own dead to be buried, and suffered the country people to bury theirs. Harold's body, and those of his brothers, were sent to their mother Githa, by whom they were interred, with all possible magnificence, in the abbey of Waltham Cross, which he himself had founded. An ancient historian has informed us, that the conqueror

called

called over by their names the several nobles and ecclesiastics who had followed him in the expedition, and that one of the latter being absent, the bishops put up some pious ejaculations for the repose of his soul, and that every one present said amen thereto. The same author has likewise given us the names of those whom William called into his tent on that occasion; and I humbly apprehend it will not be improper to mark down a catalogue of so many heroes in this place, and which are distinguished in the Norman annals, though I intend to give one fuller when I come to speak of Battle Abbey, in which the same was preserved.

Odo bishop of Baux.	Le sire de Trachi.
Le sire de Mortagne.	Le sire de Pirquiny.
[Both these were William's brothers.]	Le sire de Torci.
Le sire de Beaumont.	Le sire de Barnabos.
William Mallet.	Le sire de Seasilme.
Le sire de Montfort.	Le sire de Sanchoi.
Henry lord of Ferriers.	Le sire de la Riviere.
Le sire de Fougieres.	The lord of Boumilli.
William of Aubemare.	Le sire de Sap.
William of Roumare.	Le sire de Branchon.
Le sire de Toncque.	Le sire de Beaufault.
Le sire de la Mare.	Le sire de Seulis.
Neel de S. Saver.	Le sire de Preau.
William de Vieux Port.	De Longueville.
Le sire de Beaufon.	De Pacy.
Le sire de Manne-Ville.	De Columbiere.
Le sire de Grosmenil.	De Garenchieres.
William Crispin.	De Hondetot.
Le sire de Goin.	De la Haie.
Le sire de l'Aigle.	Le sire d'Yvetot.
Le sire de Touars.	The count de Tankerville.

The count d'Eu.	Le sire de Cailli.
The count de Longue-	Le sire de Beaujeu.
ville.	Le sire de Glor.
Le sire de Rouville.	Le sire de Vanville.
De Saint Cler.	Le sire de Bailleul.
Le sire de Laferte.	Le sire de Tilleret.
Le sire de Lalonde.	Le sire de Baqueville.
The count de Mortimer.	Le sire de Jouy.
De Magny.	D'Aiguiny.
De Fontenay.	De Tournay.
Le sire de S. Martin.	De Bolebec.
William Moyenne.	De Longueil.
Le sire Dupuis.	De Maletot.
William de Moulins.	De Malherbe.
William de Garennes.	De Porc-Epiche.
Hugh de Gourne.	The count of Harcourt.
Le sire de Bray.	The count d'Arques.
Le sire d'Avranchin.	The count de Nevers.
Le sire de Viry.	Le sire de Pavilly.
Le sire d'Espinay.	De Brametot.
Hamon sire de Pons.	Robert the son of Hermes
Le sire d'Etouville.	duke of Orleans.
Le sire de Breval.	Roger de Montgomery.
Le sire du Homme.	Amaury de Tours.

Some of the descendants from these brave warriors do still exist in England and in Normandy, though many of them have changed their names and their titles, so that it would be hard to trace them out at so great a distance of time; so leaving that, we will follow the subject of these memoirs through the different advantages that daily flowed upon him.

END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

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L I F E
O F
WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

BOOK III.
*The Normans advance toward London.—The
customs of Kent.—An account of Edgar
Atheling, and of Robert of Friezland.—
Several new laws and regulations.*

THE late victory, though great in itself, and perhaps the most complete that ever was obtained by a conqueror, would yet have availed little, had not the skilful hand who gained it managed the gains to the best advantage. On the morning after the battle, the Normans marched back to Hastings, and being apprehensive of further opposition, the duke advanced at the head of the garrison he had left at Pevensey to Dover, both to reduce the town and castle into which a great number of officers and soldiers had fled after the battle, and to secure a place of retreat.

in case of a disaster; and these surrendering almost so soon as he appeared before them, his views were quickly attained; so leaving a garrison there, he returned directly to Hastings, where the deputies from the city of Canterbury waited upon him with their submission, and, like the people of Dover, were most kindly and courteously received. The whole county of Kent followed this example; and some historians have asserted, that as the duke was marching along, and but slightly attended, he was all at once surprized with the sight of a wood, as if it were moving toward him, which, as it approached nearer, all at once became a number of men, composed of the deputies, and attended with a multitude of people having boughs or branches in their hands: they proffered their submission in the humblest manner, and only intreated that their customs and privileges might be preserved; all which was granted in the most princely and condescending manner. This I take rather to be the true state of the case between the conqueror, and the Kentish men, than that they came with arms against him near Swancombe, as he was returning to Normandy; and offered him either peace or war. The sagacious counsellor Lambert very judiciously observes, that Thomas Spot, a monk of St. Augustine's in Canterbury, who lived many years after, was the single person to record the hostile method; but be the matter as it will, one thing is certain, that the people of Kent, for several centuries enjoyed privileges beyond any other county in this realm. The persons of the vassals were in a manner sacred, and not to be compelled by their superiors and lords to serve in the wars. A man was not to be stripped of his

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estate

estate for the fault of his father, even in case of murder, or of treason. Hence the phrase :

The father to the bough,
The son to the plough.

All the sons of a Kentish man * were by the law of gavel-kind (the Saxon word for giving all the children an equal portion) to have an equal share of their father's effects and heritage. Every widow was to possess the one half of her husband's effects and inheritance, so long as she continued unmarried; but in the event of marrying, or bearing a child out of wedlock, then the whole to return to her former children, according to the proverb :

He that doth wend her,
Let him lend her.

On the other hand, every man marrying a woman possessed of an equal share of her father's heritage, was to enjoy the one half thereof after her death; but in case of marrying again, he was to lose all. No person was to be compelled by his lord or superior to take an oath, except in the case of treason, and even then it was to be administered in presence of an officer appointed by the king; and if any dispute happened between the landlord and his tenant, the controversy was not to be determined by violence, but by a jury of twelve men living at a distance, being tenants of the same rank and condition as the

One who was born in Kent, and his ancestor at least his father also.

tenant

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tenant complaining; and that any four such tenants may chuse twelve others like themselves to be jurors in a cause. These were the principal laws and customs, which the inhabitants held dearer than their lives; and which the conqueror not only agreed to maintain, but farther informed them, that the natives of Kent had been ever famous for their politeness * and bravery; that Canterbury had given the first residence to the sons of the church; that the county in general had given encouragement to the sons of the prophets; that there was nothing in their power to ask, or in his to give, that should be denied them; that he was extremely sorry for their loss in the late battle, having been an eye-witness of their resolution and fortitude; that their undaunted behaviour would be transmitted to the latest posterity. Let me intreat you, continued he, to return every man to his own habitation; comfort the childless, the widow, and the orphan, to the utmost of your power; and assure them from me, that from henceforth they are exempt from the calamities of war.

Such generous condescension could not fail of being agreeable to people, who had suffered so greatly; their provisions and forage had not only been eat up by Harold's army, but their battalions, being in the first line, were almost cut in pieces in the late engagement. They repaired to their different houses full of the praises of the conqueror; and he leaving Kent on his right hand, advanced at the head of his troops through part of *Suffex, Satry, Hampshire, and Berkslixe,*

** Harv. omittit Cantii sept. humanissimi. Caesar. Com. de Bello Gallico, lib. v. c. 14.*

toward London. In his march the people came to meet him with repeated shouts and acclamations, and bringing provision and forage with them, they were paid in ready money for the same. Obstacles, like clouds before the sun, dissolved as he approached the capital; however, he was not a little surprized to find no deputation from it; nor even any person to give him intelligence of what was doing in it: for Edwin and Morcar, availing themselves of the duke's delay, spirited up the inhabitants to oppose him.

These two noblemen would, no doubt, have preferred any of Harold's three sons to the throne before Edgar Atheling, the undoubted heir; but these had fled to Ireland on the first news of their father's disaster, and Edgar was more agreeable to the nation in general, as being descended from the ancient English kings; for he was grandson to Edmund Ironside, and great grandson of Ethelred, after whose death Canute married Emma; and never losing sight of his darling object in cutting off the royal line of the English kings, he sent Emma's children by Ethelred into Normandy, and the two sons of Edmund, who were Edmund and Edward, into Sweden, with orders to Volgarus, the viceroy of that kingdom, to put them to death privately: but the man understanding who they were, and being sensibly touched with the tenderness of their age, and the innocence of their years, he began to look with compassion upon them, and relented so far as to send word to Canute, that he had obeyed his orders, while in the mean time he sent them into Hungary, with a recommendation to Solomon, king of that country, to have them educated in a manner suitable to their birth and dignity.

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dignity. Solomon honoured the letter, and taking a particular liking to Edward on account of the gratefulness of his appearance, the superiority of his genius and virtues, he gave him his own daughter Agatha in marriage, and she bore him this Edgar, and two daughters, Margaret and Christina, the first of whom marrying Malcolm king of Scotland, had a daughter named Matilda, who after many years, by espousing Henry I. the conqueror's son, restored the Saxon line to the throne of England. In the lifetime of Edward the confessor, Edward the son of Edmund was called out of Hungary as the heir apparent to the crown. He arrived in England, anno 1056, with his family; but dying soon after, he left Edgar, who was of a weak and scanty understanding, to be the heir rather of his misfortunes, than of the kingdom; for neither such as proposed him for successor, nor those who favoured his pretensions, had sufficient power to enforce them; and the very first attempt in his favour entirely failing, he was set at a still greater distance from the throne. Edwin and Morcar endeavoured to pass the wooden bridge which Canute had thrown over the Thames about fifty years before, and to surprize the Normans; but these were too alert for them; the foot of the bridge was barricaded; the Normans piled them with their javelins as they were passing; and such as had escaped these were hewn down with the lances, as they approached the fence that had been cast up: so that after a considerable loss the citizens returned in a consternation, and but little pleased with those who had put them upon so fruitless an attack, which only could serve to enrage the enemy, who was every moment gaining ground, and advancing toward

toward them with a full resolution to reduce the capital in any event. The conqueror was too much of a soldier to resolve upon a regular siege, as the winter was fast approaching: this would be to dishearten his brave Normans, and to involve them in a tedious war; in order to prevent this, by detaching his troops in separate bodies, and making them hover in the neighbourhood of the city, he gave the inhabitants plainly to understand, that every resource would be cut off, provided they obstinately continued to make resistance. The counties in the neighbourhood of London were put under contribution; the country seats of the rich merchants were occupied by the Norman officers; provisions were stopt from entering the city; and in order to strike the greater terror, the borough of Southwark was laid in ashes: however, he mixed bounty with rigour, took such of the inhabitants as submitted under his protection, and loaded with presents and favours the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages who came in. However, he did not lose sight of the principal object, for he sent the greater number of his prelates and other ecclesiastics into the city, as the sacred character they bore would doubtless procure them a favourable reception: they advanced with crowns of olives upon their heads, arrayed in white, and having white rods in their hands; happily for them, many of the English clergy were Normans, had been educated at the abbey of Bec in Normandy under the famous Lanfranc, whom they revered on account of his learning, and the high reputation which he bore. The deputies were received with great ceremony, and their propositions were attentively heard; the clergy in general hearkened to remon-

france, not only through fear of the pope's excommunication, which they dreaded to have already incurred, but through hopes of finding a protector of their persons and privileges in William, who was reckoned the most pious prince of the age, and whose expedition had hitherto been so successful. "Consider," said the one to the other, "the terror of excommunication; that is indeed the point," answered a third. In a word, the eloquence of the clergy soon prevailed upon the Londoners, who easily saw the folly of resisting the stream, and of enraging a victorious army. These joined in the proposal of sending deputies to the conqueror; all the arguments of Edwin and Morcar were refuted; and these withdrew secretly to the northern counties, where they hoped that the Normans would not be able to penetrate for a considerable time.

Scarcely had these noblemen gone off, when Stigand archbishop of Canterbury, Alfred archbishop of York, William bishop of Worcester, and Wilfire bishop of Hereford, with several others, repaired to the duke at Berkhamstead, and presenting themselves before him, they were received in so princely and courteous a manner, that such as saw it reported the same to Edgar, and he willing to make a merit of his submission, repaired in all haste to the conqueror, at whose feet he prostrated himself as a suppliant. William raised him up with his own hand, granted his request, assured the whole deputies of his protection, and confirmed his promises with the most solemn oaths; while they in their turn assured him of their inviolable fidelity, just as if he had been upon the throne, and Edgar, forgetting his own rights, did not hesitate a moment

to follow the example of the clergy; so that William put himself in motion toward the city, and was met by the magistrates and principal inhabitants, who proffered him the keys thereof.

From the time of this submission we may date the beginning of William's reign, and cannot but admire the expedition and address with which he conducted himself in the whole of this affair, in which the hand of the Almighty was every way visible. For a duke of so small a principality as Normandy, to acquire at one blow so extensive a kingdom as England, to be assisted in the enterprise by contending parties, and by princes of opposite interests, was a matter of wonder; but that the low estate to which the kingdom of England was reduced by the late invasion, should be the very steps by which she afterward became mistress of the seas, guardian of the continent, and has arisen to that glory and reputation which she now enjoys, is a convincing proof that there is a God in Israel, and that his providence rules over all.

After the submission of the metropolis, the noblemen and gentlemen who survived the late fatal disaster, crowded to him from every quarter, and voluntarily offered him the crown; but in accepting so great an honour, he appeared somewhat undetermined, and even insisted that an assembly of the states should be called upon an affair of such importance, and in the mean time he would consult with his friends. Accordingly the nobles, who had attended him in the expedition, were called together, and the proposal made by the clergy, the Londoners, and the nobles of the kingdom, for tendering him the crown, were laid before them; every one was

for his accepting the offer; the whole scruple arose from himself; but he was answered, that he ought not to refuse so great a dignity now that it was offered him by the English themselves. They told him, that his refusal would put it out of his power to reward the brave adventurers, who had served him so well, with a view to fix him upon the throne. In a word, they intreated him not to reject a proposal, which providence had made him, and which in the end would be an advantage to the English, no less than a glory to him. Being persuaded by such strong and reasonable arguments, and the doubts arising from the remoteness of his title being wholly removed by the voluntary choice that now was made of him, the ceremony of his coronation was appointed to be held on Christmas day following, which was just fifty days from the time of his agreeing to take the reins of government into his hands. Upon that very day he entered on the functions of a sovereign, and signed several acts; among which were those for defending the church and preserving the liberties of the people. These could ask nothing, which they did not receive, and he could desire no service, which the inhabitants were not willing to perform; and what tended still more to endear him to the Londoners, he delayed making his publick entry till the coronation was over, nor would he suffer any body of soldiers to go into the city; he took care to satisfy them another way. He told the officers and soldiers, who had come over with him, that as many of them would settle in England, he thought the best way to have their names transferred to posterity, would be that every one of their sons should subjoin the name of

of the place from whence his father came to his own; and from this source did the institution of surnames arise. In the same manner as the designation of places took their beginning from their founder, as Rochester from Ross, the river on which they stand; as Maidstone from Medway, or from some remarkable occurrence, as Harbledown on the Hill, whereon the army was betrayed.

Before the arrival of the Normans, men were usually named from their condition and properties, as Godred, the Saxon word for good advice; and a woman was called from some quality of her body, as Swanshalfe for the whiteness of her neck; but after that period men began to be known by their dwellings, and to have an appellation from the possessions they enjoyed. At that time the names of Thomas, John, Nicolas, Francis, Stephen, and Henry, were introduced, with others scriptural, and now in use among us. Such as had lands assigned them, were called from these; thus, if Thomas had got the township of Norton, Sutton, Knowles, or Combe, he was thenceforth called Thomas of Norton, of Sutton, or of Combe; and in process of time was called Thomas Norton, Thomas Sutton, or Thomas Combe. Others, again, preferred the names of the places in Normandy or Brittany, whence they had arrived; thus, if a man came from a village called Vernon, Montague, Howard, Spencer, &c. he transmitted to his posterity the surname of Vernon, Montague, Howard, or Spencer, to be put after their Christian names, so long

• A French word, signifying over and above the name, *sur nom*.

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any of them should remain *. As the heart of man is generally captivated, like that of *Aeneas*, with the love of an approaching good character, so the Normans were charmed with the proposal, and became every day more and more rivetted to the person of their leader, whom they now stiled their father and their king.

Nor did he stop here, but laying himself out to do every thing that might be agreeable to his new subjects, he engaged many of those who had followed him to receive a spouse at his hands. Several of the nobles who were unmarried, were wedded to the English ladies, who had lost their husbands in the late engagement; and the illustrious man took care that every such match should be according to each person's dignity, and by the advice of friends; by which method he gained wonderfully upon the affections of the fair sex, and soon upon the whole nation. We have not indeed a particular catalogue of these alliances, perhaps on the account that friends and relations were chagrined at seeing such immense fortunes pass into the hands of strangers, and these events to be sometimes attended with tragical circumstances, which cannot fail of discovering the spirit of the times, and the unaccountable disposition to be met with in some individuals. *Eldric*, commonly surnamed the Forrester, had cast his eyes upon a widow of an immense fortune, whose husband had been killed at the battle near *Hastings*; he wanted to be her guardian, to the intent, that if she died without children, he might become her heir. This lady was utterly averse to engage in a second marriage, but she yielded to his importunities. See *Lambert's Perambulation*, p. 33.

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again in wedlock; she had rejected many Norman lords, who had made love to her, no less on account of her beauty and personal charms, than of her great and prodigious fortune; in order to remain single, she repaired to Edrick's castle, to spend some days in solitude and retirement, and to grieve for the loss of her lord. A young nobleman of Normandy, named Tracey, endeavoured to conquer her heart; and succeeded so well, that he seemed to have left an impression upon her. Edric, though a man of an abandoned character, durst not pretend to thwart the inclinations of his illustrious guest; but turning the whole of his hatred against Tracey, he invited him to take the diversion of hunting, and in the time of the chase he brutally killed him with a sabre. William, being informed of the atrocious villainy, thought himself obliged, both for the sake of the Normans, whom it was his interest to support, and for the sake of justice, to make an example of so base a murderer; but Edric avoided the punishment, and fled to the house of a relation of his own in Herefordshire, where he sowed the seeds of a revolt, which soon ripened into action.

The time of the coronation being now come, he entered the city on the evening before, amidst the loudest acclamations and huzzas, and lodging that night at the palace, where now Bridewell near Blackfriars stands, he early in the morning went by water to the bridge, and coming out of the boat, retired to a house near London-stone from whence he rode on horseback to Westminster amidst the blessings and huzzas of a prodigious multitude. He was attended by his Norman life-guards; the nobility of England rode

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next him, and those of Normandy followed. Perhaps there has not been a more brilliant coronation since that period, at least one at which were so many independent princes; for though many of the English nobles were in their graves, or had retired beyond sea, and others lay sick of the wounds they had received, yet their numbers were made up by such as had followed his fortune. Being come to Westminster, the cavalcade began from that place, where now the pell-office is kept, and proceeded with great order and regularity to the abbey, where he was crowned by Alfred archbishop of York* in the choir, where the kings of England have ever since been crowned. Stigand the archbishop of Canterbury loudly complained of this insult upon his dignity; but he was answered, that the bishop of Rome looked upon him as an intruder into that see after the expulsion of Robert, the former prelate; so that Stigand was obliged to submit. At setting the crown on the king's head, Alfred put the question to the English, if they inclined that William duke of Normandy should be their king; to which the people assented, by loud and repeated acclamations. The bishop of Constance put the same question to the Normans, if they inclined that their sovereign should be king of England; and these answered as the English had before. He took the usual coronation oath, by which he bound himself to protect the church, to administer justice with mercy, to repress violence, and to defend the fatherless and the poor. The

* Some historians write, that this prelate set the crown on Harold's head before.

whole assembly appeared joyful upon the occasion; however, an incident happened that damped their joy for a time. Through the carelessness of some people, a house near the church took fire, and the flames extending to the neighbouring houses, a loud noise began, which caused so great a consternation among the assembly within the choir, that in an instant the new king found himself almost alone at the altar, only with some churchmen about him. As the noise increased, he thought proper to step forth, and to appease the tumult; and then returning, every thing was done with the greatest regularity and decorum.

Having thus ascended the throne, he was daily applied to in behalf of such noblemen as had not yet submitted; but favours of this kind were almost granted so soon as they were asked; and Edwin and Morcar themselves were graciously received by him. There was now so perfect an harmony between king and people, that these had an emulation to discover the resources of government, and the place where Harold's immense treasures were deposited. Some of those he sent over to the continent, in order to discharge the debts he had contracted for his expedition, and as a gratuity to the churchmen, who had put up prayers for the success of his arms. He sent the pope a considerable remittance, and with it Harold's principal standard, which was all besmeared with blood, and bespattered with gore. On it was the representation of a man at full length, compleatly armed, and in the fighting posture. The whole was a curious embroidery of gold, and set about with diamonds. This present was in consideration of that which he had received from

from the pope at the commencement of the war. He distributed the remainder among the soldiers and principal officers of his army; among the churches, the monasteries, and the poor; while in order to furnish himself with money, he caused an intimation to be made among the cities, the towns, the villages, and the wealthiest of his subjects, that it would be their interest at this time to procure the favour and affection of their new master by a voluntary loan, a method which had succeeded in Normandy already, and which now produced from the English much more considerable sums. Nothing was refused on the part of his new subjects, who, forgetting their former misfortunes, appeared quite easy under a master, who seemed to have been designed by heaven to render them a happy people; they testified their gratitude to him, and expressed a sort of satisfaction at the fate of the late usurper. He enjoined his troops to treat the English with complaisance and humanity, and by an edict forbade any opprobrious invectives under the severest penalties; and at the same time gave the strictest orders for putting the laws in execution against such as should offer any dishonour to the fair sex, or who should give the least cause of complaint to the natives of the country. He confirmed all the privileges of the people, and by a special proclamation granted a more ample charter to the city of London, than she had formerly enjoyed, and ratified all the promises he had made at his coronation. By such mildness and such sagacity the people became entirely reconciled to him, and to look upon the late revolution as a signal favour of heaven, and which they gave out to have been portended from above; for in the

spring of that year a comet had appeared for seven days, on which a certain poet wrote the following lines:

*Cæsarlem Cæsar tibi si natura negavit,
Hanc Willielme, tibi stella comata dedit.*

If to thy head nature has hair deny'd,
This hairy comet has the want supply'd.

Intimating, that though his head was bald, yet a comet had portended to him a crown.

However, we should not have believed this account more, than that the soul of Julius Cæsar was by transmigration turned into a comet, which for eight days shone above his house after his murder, if the story had not been further confirmed by an author of undoubted credit and veracity, who writes thus:

*Anno milleno sexageno quoque sene,
Anglorum metæ flammæ censere cometæ.*

Within the year one thousand sixty-six,
Comets to England's sons an end did fix.

We would not rashly conclude, that the heavenly bodies portended the sudden and important revolution of states, though certainly they never could do it at a more proper time, than before the revolution brought about by this illustrious king; who now having founded his government on the love and affection of his subjects, the surest bulwark and support of a throne, retired from London to Berking, where the remaining part of his subjects came in and swore allegiance.

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to him. His condescension and goodness, were every way surprizing; for he not only received enemies into favour with an unparalleled openness and complacency, but even endeavoured to comfort Harold's sons for the loss of their father; and to win upon them, he sent Eadworth, who had formerly been their father's valet, and had been governor to the eldest son from his infancy, in order to invite them to the court of England, and to animate them with a confidence, which they seemed entirely to want. He set sail from Holyhead for Dublin, and applied himself directly to Goodwin the eldest. The three young princes, who for their magnanimity and greatness of soul were worthy of the hopes of which the late revolution had deprived them, beheld with pleasure an officer whom their father had loved so dearly, and whom they had given over as lost; they received him as their father's friend and their own; but when he began to explain the subject of his commission, all their politeness was changed into rage at the proposal, and looking upon him only as a spy and a secret enemy, they treated him with disdain and contempt, instead of affection and complacency. However, Eadworth did not despair of making an impression in time upon the tender minds of these unfortunate princes; he again remonstrated with them upon the necessity of yielding to the stream; he told them, that nothing would be more advantageous in their present circumstances than to embrace the offers of a prince, who was both generous and just, and who was never known to break his word; that if they followed his advice, they might have a larger and more comfortable settlement than what they could expect in Ireland, where

where they were but strangers; he pointed out the great satisfaction of living peaceably in their native country, and amidst their friends and relations, the companions of their youth, and who once had shared their fortune; he put them in mind that their mother and grandmother were still alive, and that they could not say for what heaven had reserved them; that it would be more consistent, even with their own views, to live among the English, who by their presence would be more attached to them; he mentioned Edgar Atheling, who was so well beloved by the people, that he was called the English darling. In fine, he tried to convince them, that in case of some new revolution, which might revive their expectation of the crown, they would have a better chance by being present, since seldom or never do the eyes of a nation extend to such as are removed at a distance. This indeed was going a great length, considering that he only wanted to kindle a love to peace and tranquillity in the minds of these three princes; but receiving only new reproaches, he took another method more likely to procure success to his negotiation. The three princes were not without their own turn for gallantry, each of them had a mistress with whom they kept company, and Ireland at that period was more remarkable for fine women than any other country in Europe, and the favourites of Harold's sons were among the chief beauties in the kingdom. Eadworth became acquainted with them, and had gained upon them by some well-timed presents so far, that upon the promise of a large reward, they engaged to prevail upon the young men to leave Ireland, and to repair to their native country.

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For this purpose these three ladies went on board a ship that was bound for Anglesey; with intent to draw the young men thither; but their hatred of William mastered every other passion; and though concerned at the news of the departure of their three mistresses, they discovered no inclination to follow them: however, they breathed nothing but vengeance against Eadworth, whom they looked upon as the worst of traitors; but he escaped their resentment, and arrived at London the day after the king had set out for Normandy, where he was in a manner adored.

Thus in the space of four months he had the satisfaction to see himself secured as firmly in the throne of England, as if the same had been his birthright. He indeed took upon him the name of William the conqueror, by the advice and at the intercession of the English themselves. This designation was given in all writs and publick edicts, in order to make amends for the name of bastard, with which the friends of Harold had on all occasions branded him; for he frequently said in the most numerous assemblies, that he never could pretend to conquer the English nation, a people whom he loved, and with whose kings the dukes of Normandy had been for a considerable time closely connected by the ties of blood, but the more powerful links of correspondence and interest; that indeed he had conquered Harold and his party, but that he really thought no people were capable of conquering England, except the English themselves; that as to the imputation of bastardy, it was below his notice, and even desired to be excused from taking a name which he never aspired after. "'Tis true," continued he, "the God of armies always gave me
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"the victory over my enemies, but I never liked
 "the commanders who assumed the pompous
 "title of conqueror, nor ever will I reduce
 "any people under a yoke." This remonstrance
 only tended to make them more urgent, and so he
 was obliged to comply.

But in the midst of this tide of glory and pro-
 sperity, he did not forget the vow which he had
 made of building a church upon the place where
 the engagement had happened: he gave orders
 for erecting a stately and magnificent abbey upon
 the field where the combatants had fought, and
 for calling it *Batell*; which was accordingly done:
 he laid the first stone of the edifice, and gave
 instructions to raise the altar upon the very spot
 where Harold fell. This stately structure soon
 raised its head in that obscure place, which before
 the engagement had not so much as a name. It was
 most amply and munificently endowed, having a ju-
 risdiction over no less than twenty-two hundreds*,
 with many donations from Kent, Sussex, Surrey,
 and Hampshire, &c. Among others, he endowed
 the new abbey with the manor of Wye; and for
 maintaining the monks there, he among other
 things granted them all sea-wrecks falling upon
Dinge-marithe, and by his charter of donation
 willed, "that if any fish called a *craspis*, i. e.
 "crassus piscis, a great or royal fish, such as
 "whales, which by the rights of the crown per-
 "tained to the king, should happen to be taken
 "there, that then the monks should have it
 "wholly;" and if it chanced to strand upon any
 part of another man's estate between *Horsemead*
 and *Whitburn*, that the monks should have the

* By an hundred, is meant an hundred families.

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whole tongue, and two-thirds of the whole body. The abbot was to be independent of the see of Canterbury, and of every other jurisdiction, and the place was enacted to be a refuge to such as fled for their lives from justice. It was kept up for many years with great care till the time of the reformation, when the heat of party prevailing over good sense and discretion, it was pulled down by the rabble, as if any edifice was to be blamed for what had happened within its walls.

The king, by visiting his Norman dominions, not only secured himself on the throne of England, but gave his old and new subjects an opportunity of beginning that correspondence, which was the great object of his care and attention, during the course of his reign, and did not a little contribute to fix the grand opinion conceived of him in the minds of the neighbouring potentates. He had in his retinue, Stigand archbishop of Canterbury, Edgar Atheling, the earls Edwin and Morcar, Waltheof the son of Siward, sometime earl of Northumberland, with others the principal persons in the kingdom; as also a prodigious number of Norman and other officers, whom he did not chuse to leave in his regal dominions, for fear of giving umbrage to the inhabitants; and what is no less remarkable than true, in less than four months there were only 34000 Norman soldiers in England, and these more to repel any invasion from Denmark, than on any other consideration. He left the regency to William Fitzosborn, and his own brother Odo, a man of great and of singular merit; a prince whose abilities in war were not inferior to his talents in peace: he could poise a lance, or dart a javelin, with

with all the dexterity of a cavalier, and yet his good nature was beyond all his other accomplishments.

With the most splendid company that ever went from England did William go on board the *Mora*, the same ship that had landed him at *Pevensey*; and after a pleasant passage, he arrived a little below the abbey of *Feschamp*, to which he was conducted amidst the joyful acclamations, not only of his own subjects, but of the inhabitants of the neighbouring provinces; and observing that the Normans affected peevishness and reserve toward the English, he ordered that these should be treated with the same generosity and discretion as the most intimate friends. At *Feschamp* he received ambassadors from the neighbouring princes, and among these came the count de *Rouil*, attended with a numerous train of the nobility, to compliment him on the part of Philip king of France, and of the regent; which having done they retired, after a stay of eight days, all admiring the grandeur of the king, the oeconomy of his household, the order and regularity with which every thing was conducted, the majesty of his look, the charms of his every feature, the beautiful dress of his body guards, all embroidered with gold, and shining with ornaments of silver; they were astonished at the stature of the English nobility and their attendants, and dazzled with the curious workmanship of their rich furniture, and costliness of the plate they carried over with them; but, above all things, their eyes were fixed with a pleasing wonder, when they contemplated the majestic and comely person of the king; for he was neither stern nor haughty in his deportment, neither was his aspect severe

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and imperious, as some writers have represented. The very reining of an army composed of so many different nations, various in arms, in habit, and in language, is to me an argument in his favour; his never losing a battle is a demonstration that his soldiers loved him; he had nothing cruel, vindictive, or rapacious in his nature; he indeed had a majestic nobleness of aspect so becoming a commander, and which never appeared to greater advantage than in battle, or when arrayed in his robes of state, and at this time these were entirely new and magnificent; so that it was no wonder if the French embassy should be struck with what they observed at Feschamp, and to such a degree, that as if France and England had been countries at the greatest distance, the persons who attended the embassy did, upon their return into France, expatiate upon what they had seen at Feschamp.

But in the midst of this universal joy, which continued for some weeks, he did not forget the duties of religion; he visited the monasteries and churches, and inspected into the case of the poor; it was no new thing to see him one day assist at the dedication of a church, the next at the election of an abbot, on the third at the consecration of a bishop; and what tended most to ennoble him, was the care he took to have only men of merit and learning preferred. Among others, he proposed Lanfranc, the abbot of Bee, to be chosen bishop of Rouen; but that prelate, an Italian by birth, and a stranger, saw too much difficulty falling upon him so weighty a charge, and he declined it. However, John bishop of Winchester, was not so scrupulous; for he was only in high esteem for his moderation and

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learning, but had the advantage of being allied to the king, he having been son to Richard count de Bayeux, who was uterine brother to Richard II. duke of Normandy. At entering upon his office, this spirited prelate undertook an immediate reformation of every abuse that had crept into his ecclesiastical fee; but having, in a synod of the clergy, inveighed against the gallantries of the priests and curates, he was flung out of the assembly; in which, as he passed through, he cried out in latin, "O Deus, venient gates in hereditatem tuam: O God, the heathen have come into thine inheritance."

The time approached when he was to return to England, but in this he was diverted a little by the sudden appearance of Robert his brother-in-law, who came to solicit his protection against Baldwin VI. earl of Flanders, and who was the elder brother to the supplicant; for their father being lately dead, these two princes, who had hitherto enjoyed their father's fortune without any distinction, began to disagree; and though the youngest was, from the circumstance of his birth, stript of every part of the paternal inheritance, yet fortune had put it in his power to procure an handsome settlement, by means that ought to be represented.

Baldwin the father, being very desirous to leave the principality to his eldest son, made Robert swear upon some relicks, when but a boy of a few years of age, that he would form no pretence upon the county of Flanders; and to bind him the more surely, he offered him a fleet of ships well manned, and well provided with money and provisions, in order to go in quest of a settlement for in that age adventures were frequent and

he found : like the ancient Trojans, whom the Greeks had driven from their native country, they had an emulation to seek their fortune in another, and to give birth to new kingdoms rising out of the ashes of their own.

The Normans had begun by settling first in France, then in England, and lastly in Italy. New principalities had sprung up in Palestine and Syria; and Robert, willing to avail himself of those examples, thought he now had an opportunity of conquering for himself one of the kingdoms possessed by the Saracens.

He had no great trouble in finding out people to share his adventure; for at that time Flanders was exceedingly populous; a prodigious number offered their service; and with them he embarked for Galicia, in full hopes of wresting that kingdom from the infidels. Robert was no less impetuous than the Saracens; but he wanted prudence and foresight, which was the occasion of his falling into a misfortune; but of which he wanted address to extricate himself; for in the very time when he ought to have been wholly taken up with the object of his expedition, he gave way to a passion, which never failed of being fatal to every warrior that entertained it.

Among the number of some prisoners who fell into his hands, there was a Moorish officer, who once had served in the Christian armies; and he being a man of experience and genius, soon discovered the temper and disposition of the adventurer by observing his eyes at the time when he mentioned the name of the governor of Cam-pasilla's daughter, a young lady on whose beauty he greatly expatiated, he discovered that Robert became enamoured from that representation. He

was fired with a desire of seeing this amazing female, and of captivating her heart. He left the care of his troops with count Urban, an officer of experience and conduct, and setting out under the direction of this officer, to whom he gave very large and considerable presents, he soon arrived within sight of the city, and sending the Saracen before him, he had a view of this enchanting female Isabella, for that was her name, and she pretended to be no less captivated with him. In the mean time, Urban ravaged the estates in the neighbourhood, and encountering the Moorish army that was sent against him, he conquered it, but not without a great deal of bloodshed, and after an obstinate resistance; however, the conquerors could not push the advantage; their leader was absent, and Urban did not chuse to venture up into the country, lest his communication with the fleet should be cut off. This gave an opportunity to the Moors to assemble in greater numbers, and to attack the remains of an army, which, though victorious, was yet neither recruited with numbers, nor yet supplied with provisions, and the other necessaries of war. The utmost that the Christian army could do, was to stand upon the defensive, and to retreat in the best manner they could.

All this time Robert was so much taken up with Isabella, that he forgot every other person; he proffered to place her upon the throne, as which he was aspiring, and endeavoured to dispose her to quit her father's court, but in vain; however, she pretended so much regard for him, as to look with indifference upon the ravages which his troops committed in her native country. The Saracen was privy to all the intrigue, and informed

informed the governor of it; a party was sent to the house where the two lovers had taken up their quarters, with only three gentlemen servants. Robert had just time to arm in his own defence before the party arrived; with an intrepidity equal to that of any Roman did he cut his way through the midst of the guard; one of his attendants was killed upon the spot, but the other escaped to the army, where the death of Robert was publickly declared to be inevitable: they really believed him to be dead, until he himself one morning suddenly entered the general's tent, after a thousand hardships. He was now bent upon revenge for his disappointment, and animated the forces again to try the fortune of war. He set out in quest of the Saracen army, which was twice more numerous than his own, all well fed, new clothed, and well supplied with necessities. He attacked with a bravery, which nothing but despair could have raised, and frequently overthrew the squadrons of the enemy; however, numbers carried it; the greatest part of the Christian army was cut in pieces, and the shattered remains were driven to the beach, where they again formed to make a stand, while the boats were rowing toward shore to take them off. Here they were again attacked so furiously, that with difficulty some few could get to their ships, where such a mortality had raged among the sea-men, that there were scarce as many remaining, as to navigate the vessels back into Flanders, where the old count was chagrined at the miscarriage, and the whole country was astonished at the impudence of the adventurer, who yet had such ascendancy over his father, as to procure another fleet, and another army, no way inferior to

the former, in order a second time to try his fortune; but scarce had the same put to sea, and was out of sight of the coast of Flanders, till a storm arose, and destroyed the greater part of the vessels, with all the troops on board.

Alarmed of his miscarriages, and struck with remorse for the calamities caused through his means, he, without returning to Flanders, took upon him the habit of a pilgrim going to Jerusalem, and began his journey for Constantinople, where the emperor Constantine Ducas was busy in preparing for a war against the Saracens. Many adventurers from Normandy were in the service of that prince, and these had given a general invitation to the enterprizing youth of every nation through Europe to join them, and had proffered secretly to Robert the chief command. A circumstance which raised the jealousy of the Porte so far, that to prevent too great a number of foreigners from being in the army, an order was given for stopping all pilgrims; so that Robert, being apprized of these precautions, judged proper to return again to his native country, where a new object was soon presented to his view.

The principality of Frizeland, comprehending Zeland, Holland, and the neighbourhood of Antwerp, was at that time governed by Gertrude of Saxony, the widow of count Florence, who had been killed some years before, and had left one son under the care of the mother. The minority of the prince seemed to give Robert a favourable opportunity for conquering a country so near that of his father. He assembled the shattered remains of the two armies, which had been ruined through his means; and arriving upon the borders of Frizeland, he published a manifesto full

menaces against the inhabitants, if they should refuse to give him access; and here, forgetting the miseries he had brought upon himself by his former gallantry, he endeavoured to carry on an intrigue with Gertrude, who was not only a lady of singular beauty, but of an approved greatness of soul. By her wisdom and sagacity she could have been a sufficient match for the forces sent against her; but she could not withstand that torrent of sollicitation with which she was every day teased, to alter her condition, and to accept of Robert for her husband, in order to put a stop to the war which threatened her family, and the dominions of her son. The marriage was solemnized with great magnificence, his army returned into Flanders, and he was called Robert of Frizeland ever after. But scarce was he settled in the principality, when his brother, on the death of his father, succeeding to the estate and honours of the defunct, demanded that he would do homage to him for the principality. As Robert was averse to comply, so he first by his ambassadors, and then by appearing personally at the court of Rouen, solicited the protection of the king of England, whom he offered to make arbitrator of the difference between his brother Baldwin and him. The king promised to examine into the affair, and to do every thing in his power, consistent with justice and equity, for preventing the effusion of human blood; but before any enquiry could be made, Baldwin raised an army, and entered Frizeland with fire and sword, and Robert quitting too from Normandy on the first news of the irruption, he mustered some forces, and coming up with his brother, a bloody engagement ensued, in which Baldwin was defeated, and

and slain, as he was endeavouring to rally his troops, and bring them back to the charge; and Robert, as the consequence of the victory, united the principality of Flanders to his other dominions. I have been the longer upon this, as it tends to refute the account, that the king of England was hurried over to his regal dominions, in order to quell an insurrection of his new subjects: that an incident of this kind should divert a prince of William's sagacity and prudence, as the Abbe de Prault writes, from crossing the sea to suppress a rebellion of his new subjects, seems preposterous, and in my humble opinion tends rather to confirm the account given by Sir William Temple, that the people in general had behaved peaceably, and that Odo and Osborn had managed the reins of government with a steady hand; for through the whole kingdom there were only two commotions, the one in Kent, and the other in Herefordshire.

The outrage in Kent happened in consequence of a jealousy, which two gentlemen of that county had entertained of their wives keeping up a criminal correspondence with two Norman officers belonging to the garrison of Dover. The injured persons gave information of this to Eustace earl of Boulogne, who, in hopes of revenging the affront given him by the people of Dover in the former reign, too readily embarked on board two ships, with which he sailed to Dover, where he landed in the night-time, and joining with the discontented gentlemen, they marched directly to the castle, and began to place their scaling-ladders against the wall. The soldiers within had a view of them, and got immediately under arms; however, they did not stir, till a number of the soldiers were upon the ladders, which all at

once were overturned; the gates were set open, a vigorous sally was made, and the garrison attacking sword in hand, many were killed upon the spot; several were tumbled over the precipice into the sea, some few escaped with Eustace himself to the ships, and some were made prisoners; among whom Eustace's nephew, who was brother-in-law to Godfrey duke of Lorraine, *Admiral*

The other commotion was entirely owing to Eric the Forrester, who, being a turbulent man, endeavoured to call in some disorderly people from Wales into Herefordshire; but these were soon obliged to return, by the forces who were left in that neighbourhood. In a word, Odd and his council took such effectual care for quelling sedition by wisdom more than by power, that when the king arrived in England, he found every thing in the utmost repose and tranquillity; and what heightened the joy of the people, was to see him accompanied not only with the illustrious persons he had carried into his ducal dominions, but likewise with his spouse, his three sons, Robert, Richard, and William, and five daughters. He lay the first night at Canterbury, where he was complimented by the magistrates in their formalities; next day he set out for Rochester, where he likewise lodged that night; and on the third day passed on to London, where he was received with repeated shouts and acclamations; and to give a testimony of his affection toward them, he from that time resolved to reside in England with his family, and to govern Normandy by a *delegate*. In full security of his throne, he applied himself to the arts of peace, and to the forming of new laws for the welfare and happiness of his subjects.

subjects. His first care was to provide for the due administration of justice, and to introduce order in the management of the revenue, proportioning his expence so well to his receipts, as never to leave the crown in necessities, nor the subjects in fear of new and lawless exactions; and as he had sworn at his coronation to govern by the laws of the kingdom, so he continued the ancient customs and liberties of the people, that were called the common law, and commanded that these should be observed both in what concerned the crown, and what regarded the subject, though he introduced several new forms in the administration and execution of them. Besides the ancient laws or customs that concerned the descent of private inheritances, or the penalties upon several crimes, there were two fundamental laws of the Saxon or English kingdom; the trial of juries by twelve men, wherein consisted the safety of mens lives and properties. For a long time these twelve men were both jurors and judges, and their sentence both in civil and criminal cases being generally approved as just and equitable, their judgments grew into a precedent to succeeding judges, and being received by general submission, the custom was introduced of passing certain sentences upon certain causes, and inflicting certain punishments upon certain crimes. After a course of years, it was found convenient that the jurors should only judge of the matter of fact; but that the decision of sentence should be left to six or more persons of skill and experience, who were best acquainted with what was usual in former cases, and who might be more capable of determining their likeness or unlikeness to the case referred to; so that one part of a trial

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was by equals, but the other by superiors: and so we find that causes were adjudged by the aldermen and bishop of the several shires, with the assistance of twelve men of the same county, who are said to have been judges or assistants to the two first. 'Tis true, the terms jury and verdict, with many others, were introduced in the course of this reign: but the trials by twelve men, with the essential circumstance of their unanimous agreement, was not only used in Normandy and in England during the reign of the Saxons and Danes, but is known to have been as ancient in Sweden, as any records or traditions of that kingdom, which was the first seat of the Gothic dominions in the north-west parts of Europe; and the custom still remains in several provinces of that country. However, king William caused these to be observed as the common law of the kingdom, and thereby gave a general satisfaction to all the body of the people, whether English or Normans. In his time was the custom introduced of summing up the evidence to a jury before their withdrawing.

He likewise established the borough law, whereby every shire was divided into so many hundreds or boroughs*, consisting at first of one hundred families, and every hundred into ten tithings. If any person had committed a crime, or was charged with a trespass, the tithing † to which he belonged was bound to produce him before the court of the hundred; if he had absconded, they were to swear that they were not accomplices in

* The Saxon word for a pledge.

† In each tithing were ten heads of families, all pledges for each other.

the fact charged against him, and that they would endeavour, as soon as possible, to find him out; and if this failed, they would, on a certain time, discover all the goods he was possessed of within their tithing, to satisfy the damage done to a subject, or for expiating an offence committed against the king. As this law was of the greatest utility both for the sovereign and the subject, so care was taken to have it religiously observed.

He continued all mens properties, inheritances, and successions, invading none either for his own benefit, or reward of his Norman forces or friends, nor indeed had he any occasion, for never did such an immensity of forfeitures fall to a crown, as at this time. The whole of Harold's personal estate became forfeited, as did the possessions of many others, who had fallen in the late battle, and whose name and families were extinct. Harold's sons had rejected the proffer that was made them, and their mother Edith was still plotting in favour of her family. By the king's seizure of these immense fortunes, many poor people, whose fathers or grandfathers had been thrust out from their habitations, were now reinstated, upon proving their several claims; and still there was a sufficient fund for gratifying not only the English, who had connived with his designs, but the Normans, who had survived the engagement at Hastings, or had escaped the terrible distemper, which then carried off multitudes upon the con-

It consisted of Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, Dorsetshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall, Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, and Somersetshire, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire.

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continent: and as Sir William Temple very justly observes, "This blow to so many estates and families was given at once, and no more renewed." On the contrary, justice was administered to Englishmen and Normans with impartiality; whereof there is one instance still upon record. It was an action between Warren a Norman, and Sherburn an Englishman; the former, by virtue of a grant from the king, had entered upon the lands of the other, who came into court, and pleaded that he had never bore arms against the king, nor opposed his title or accession to the throne; that he had always lived peaceably upon his estate, and so was liable to no forfeiture by the common law, but was secured by the king's declaration immediately after his coming to the crown. Upon which plea, a sentence was pronounced in favour of Sherburn, his lands were restored, and Warren was cast, and condemned to pay the costs of suit.

He appointed justices for preserving peace and good order in every county, agreeable to the custom used in the Saxon reigns. He created judges from among the most able and learned among his subjects, for determining pleas of the crown, and controversies of importance between subjects; and to his immortal honour, he ordained four terms in the year, wherein justice should be administered, and appeals from inferior courts should be heard, and to be held in such places as he should judge to be most convenient. He likewise instituted the courts of chancery and exchequer, the first for tempering the rigour and severity of the laws, according to the dictates of clemency and equity; and the other for determining all actions concerning the revenues of the crown,

crown, for punishing exactions or irregular proceedings in the officers who levied or received them, as well as defaults or delays in those from whom they were due.

• He never levied any unusual tax, except one of six shillings upon each plowland through the kingdom, and this probably by consent of a general assembly of the states, with whose concurrence he levied the Danegelt, in order to oppose an invasion of the Danes, and this only agreeable to the practice of former reigns.

This tax was first raised by Ethelred upon the first Danish enterprize here; several of his successors did the same upon the like danger, sometimes to repulse the invaders by force of arms, and sometimes to evade them by bargains and money*, wherewith they compounded for the present dangers, but which often whetted their hungry appetites to crave more.

• He likewise instituted frequent assemblies of the states, to be composed of the clergy, the nobles, the representatives of shires, and of boroughs, who were to be chosen by the different counties; and although that meeting of the states of the kingdom had not the name of parliament till the reign of his son Henry I. anno 1116, yet they had the same powers, and the same operative capacity as now.

• He beheld with regret the ignorance of the common people, over whom Providence had set him to be king; nor was the odious custom of rapping and carousing less disagreeable, especially to one who was a pattern of sobriety, as well as

• At one time Ethelred bought them off with 113,000 l.

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a model of every other regal and heroic virtue. For remedying the first, he instituted schools, and other seminaries of learning; and as the Saxon way of writing was hard to conceive, and but little known in other places, he introduced the method of writing in Normandy, which was both more generally known, and much more easily understood; and to prevent the latter, he ordered that in every village a bell should be rung every night at eight o'clock; after which all fires were to be put out, and no person to be seen abroad under the severest penalties: a regulation highly commendable in itself, and what tended much toward the health, and promoting both the temporal and eternal happiness of the people.

A more salutary law than that about the curfew bell could not have been thought of; for the English had learned the custom of drinking to excess from the Danes, which was one great reason of their neglecting trade, and the improvement of the country; it was an inlet to idleness, and an obstacle to every useful discovery; an enemy to the sciences, and an introduction to all that is bad; the Danes were massacred by it, and the English had suffered also. The Normans, though a sober people, were soon enticed to follow the pernicious habit, and many of them became adepts in the school of Bacchus; quarrels about countries generally arose from their long revels; sometimes the Normans were murdered in the heat of liquor, and the English fell on their turn; drinking vessels, and other furniture, were broken by such as could not make

• *Couvre feu*, to put out the fire.

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good

good the loss, and what was still of greater disadvantage, the houses were mostly of timber, and the streets, especially in corporation towns, were narrow, so that the flames might soon be communicated, and the work of years be destroyed in a few moments; all which inconveniences were to be removed by this ordinance.

From the time that assemblies of the states were appointed, daily innovations were made for the better; laws that favoured of cruelty were repealed, and barbarous customs were abolished; such as that of purging one's self by oath, and bringing in others to swear that they were innocent of the crime charged; the strange method of clearing one's self by fire or by water. By the first, the nobles and persons of distinction were tried, while the second was used among the lower class of people. The first consisted of two articles; the person accused was to walk barefooted over nine bars of red hot iron, placed at unequal distances, having in his hand a piece of iron of one, two, or three pound weight, according to the nature of the crime charged, his eyes being all the while tied about with a napkin; if neither the red hot iron hurt him, nor yet did he stammer upon the bars, then he was innocent; but if either the one or the other happened, then he was pronounced guilty. Some historians have assured us, that Emma, the confessor's mother, underwent this trial by the order of her own son, and that she acquitted herself in this manner of the crime of adultery with which she was charged. That by water was of two kinds, and was either by cold or by hot water. In the first case, the accused person was bound hands and feet, and thrown into the water; if he sunk into it, then

he was guilty; but if he swam upon the surface, then he was innocent. In the second case, the hand of the accused person was thrust into boiling water up to the wrist, and sometimes the whole ulna up to the elbow; and according to the effect of the water, so was the sentence with respect to the guilt or innocence of the accused person. A third way of purgation was by single combat; and if a woman was accused, then the man in whom she could repose the greatest confidence, was substituted in her room to fight the accuser; and from this he had the name of champion. A fourth method was by a piece of bread*, or of leaven, which the accused person was to swallow without chewing it; if the bread stuck in the man's throat, then he was pronounced guilty; but if it passed freely, then the person was cleared; not need we say any further, than that all the different articles laid down in the magna charta, or charter of liberty, took their rise from the regulations and ordinances of this illustrious reign, in which every encroachment upon the rights of mankind met with a check, and the abuses that had crept into the church did not pass with impunity.

The clergy at that time were in the midnight of superstition, and of darkness†; and as the people of England have ever been remarkable for exceeding those of the continent in imitation, and following example, whether good or bad, so the

* This bread was called *corsued* from *snide*, which signifies to cut; and *corse*, which signifies to curse.

† See the oration of Adolphus Turretine, concerning the different fates of the Christian religion, page 29.

churchmen through the kingdom were generally men of the most vicious lives, drowned in ignorance, and habituated to cruelty, which might be occasioned from their daily being present at the trials by fire and by water, and which were not made without the ceremony prescribed by the ecclesiastical courts. Among these, the ceremony in the case of swallowing the accursed bread is not to be passed over. After the accused person had first received the communion, the priest or bishop, according to the rank or quality of the man to be tried, was to hold out the bread or leaven to him, and to utter these words: "Forasmuch as this morsel will be given you for the discovery of the truth, your throat will be shut against receiving it, if you be guilty, and you will not again be able to pull it out; but if you be innocent of the crime laid to your charge, you will eat, or be able to pull out with great ease, this piece of leaven, consecrated in your name, so the end that all the world may know the falseness of the accusation brought against you *." The church was at that time every way polluted, and in a manner drunk with blood; churches, that had been erected by the pious munificence of former kings, were defiled with lasciviousness and impurity; monasteries, abbeys, and priories, became receptacles of the lazy, the indolent, and of those who delighted only in fulness of bread; feuds and deadly animosities were raised and fomented between different houses, as if these had not been erected for instructing people in the doctrines

* Abbe de Prault, vol. 1. p. 381.

of peace. Of this the two religious houses of Canterbury stand a lasting monument and example. The monks in these were as far removed from all martial love and society, as if the houses were near to each other; they only agreed in oppressing the laity; but then they differed in dividing the spoil: daily law-suits about lands, privileges, and reliques, were commenced; they sued for exemptions, entered actions for procuring reliques, struggled for offices, and contended for possessions.

But though the clergy were plunged in the abyss of ignorance, yet they were advanced to the pinnacle of power, and, like the old Druids, usurped the dispensation of rewards and punishments; both temporal and eternal; people were pronounced good or bad as they favoured these sons of luxury and idleness, who, from the circumstance of their riches and honours, became the arbiters of all causes, and had the greatest sway.

To remove the heavy yoke from off the neck of the people, the king thought proper to abridge their temporal power, and to confine them to the duties of their ecclesiastical function. An ordinance, which gave particular offence to the bishops, who had hitherto sat as judges with the aldermen or ealds of each shire, had shared with the king in all fines raised from the issue of causes therein determined; they held all their lands by Frank Almonage, and subject to no duties or taxes, but such as they laid upon themselves in

The one was Christ-church, and the other was called St. Augustine. See Lamb. Peramb. p. 297.

their

their spiritual assemblies. "This prince," says Sir William Temple, "finding above a third part of the land of the kingdom in possession of the clergy, and the forces of the crown, which consisted in knight's services, lessen in proportion to their immunity, he reduced all their lands to the common tenure of knight's fees and baronage, and thereby subjected them to attendance upon the king in his wars, and to other services, anciently due." This innovation not only touched the bishops, but all the abbots throughout the kingdom, many of whom were endowed with so great lands and revenues, that in right thereof they were, after the regular constitution of parliaments, allowed session with the bishops as barons in the house of lords. He quartered soldiers in the abbey and monasteries, both to ease the country, which had been exhausted by the war, and to set an example of sobriety before the sons of drunkenness and sloth; nor was this all, for he wanted to make England a trading nation, and to unite with strangers.

The whole clergy exclaimed against these institutions, not only as an indignity and injury to their rights, but as an impiety too, a violation of the sacred rights of the holy church; however, these complaints soon subsided; for, in process of time, the places of churchmen were filled with persons of moderation and learning, who became more reconciled to the salutary regulations which the sovereign had made.

The enemies of this great and illustrious king cannot refuse a tribute of praise to the man who did so much for the welfare and happiness of the country, and who, in matters of the greatest importance, always consulted with the wisest and

most experienced among the English themselves; as in the debate for precedence between the archbishops of Canterbury and York; in which the preeminence was given in favour of the former, as being the first seat in the Christian church in the kingdom, and the first to be amply and magnificently endowed. The archbishops of Canterbury have generally been men of great probity and goodness, though indeed at the time of the battle of Hastings, that see was filled by Sigard, a man of but an indifferent report, and of a still worse life and conversation: he had intruded into the archbishoprick, even while Robert the former archbishop was alive; he had received the pall from pope Benedict V. who, for buying the papacy, had been deposed. As an instance of his avarice, he retained the seat of Winchester in his own hands, after his investiture into the see of Canterbury. He was an ignorant and dull man, a stranger to his pastoral task in both and in history, and exceeding covetous and mean. He was addicted to profane swearing, and much given to promiscuous and mental fornication, even when talking solemnly, and upon matters most serious. He frequently would swear, that he had not one penny upon earth, while he wore a key about his neck, which opened the door to the place, where great and immense treasures were deposited. As this came to be known, it was no wonder if complaints were raised in the minds of the common people, whose affection and confidence the king was very desirous to secure. It was from this motive that he caused

Angeline, and you, settled here by the order of King Edward.

his

his spouse Matilda to be crowned at Winchester soon after her arrival; the forms were the same as at his own coronation, with the additional ceremony of the champion; when one Dimieck, a bold cavalier, entered the hall where the company were sitting after their return from church, and being on horseback, and compleatly armed, he did at three different times give a challenge in these words: "If any person denies that our most gracious sovereign lord William and his spouse Matilda are not king and queen of England, he is a false-hearted traitor, and a liar, and here I as champion do challenge him to single combat;" this ceremony has continued in the family of Dimieck till this day. As no person accepted the challenge, so Matilda was called queen ever after, a title which she took not either in private or in publick all that time. The whole company was exceeding splendid upon the occasion, the king himself was extremely gay and facetious; he conferred many favours with a grace and attitude that enhanced their value; his numerous family not a little delighted the populace, and the queen being soon after delivered of a prince, who was baptized by the name of Henry, and who afterwards ascended the English throne, the hearts and affections of almost all ranks and conditions of people seemed to be for ever knit to the royal family.

There were present at this coronation a prodigious number of strangers. The nobles of Normandy accompanied their duchess to the throne; but after the crown was set upon her head by Alfred archbishop of York, she was served by her English subjects. Every person present was charmed at the order and regularity with which

the whole was conducted; and, to crown all, the king himself took a second time the coronation oath, to govern the people with moderation and equity, and to preserve inviolable the custom of trying by juries; a custom, which not only secures from the caprice of superiors, but even from the wrath of the sovereign himself, as it is the distinguishing privilege of every Englishman, that he cannot be punished, nor even condemned by superiors, until first he be found guilty by his peers*.

Whether these innovations were made for stifling the universal clamour of the populace against the tyranny and exactions of the church, or for enabling himself to satisfy the arrears of the army, which were not as yet discharged, certain it is, that in the event the country became much the better for it; and as none but men of merit were preferred to any vacancies that fell out, so there was a wonderful change in a few years almost among all orders and conditions of men. "For the rest," says Sir William Temple †, "he contented himself with the usual revenues of the crown; and by his great order and management, as well as moderation in his expences, he gained much ease to the crown, and satisfaction to the people."

The chief branches of the crown revenue anciently consisted of the lands that had been reserved as a provision for the king's household, and accounted as crown-lands. These at first yielded only certain quantities of provisions, as beefs,

* From the Latin *pares*, equals.

† Introduction to the Hist. of England, p. 170.

sheep, wheat, hay, oats, according to the nature of the lands, the tennures which they held, and the quantity of provision found necessary for the king's household; what overplus remained was compounded for, and paid in money, according to the rates usual and agreed upon. The next was a duty reserved anciently out of every knight's fee, which was constantly paid as a quit-rent; but, being small, came in time to be neglected by the kings, who contented themselves with the military attendance of the knights in their wars, and with levying sometimes a higher duty upon great and urgent occasions, under the name of escuage, which was burthenome and odious, until the proportions were ascertained. This duty of escuage, with the tennures of knight's service and baronage, had been long in use among the Saxons in England, as well as in other parts of Europe, which had been settled by swarms from the same northern hive. With these the new sovereign was entirely contented, though in a short time he advanced his own revenue, and the grandeur of the nation, by improving an advantage, which, however obvious, had till this time been concealed.

Formerly several farms and manors were given by bare word only, with the sword or head-piece of the landlord, with a horn or standing goblet, and many tenements with a quill, a horse-comb, a bow, or with an arrow, which the possessor kept as an evidence of his right; but now the custom was changed, all the branches of the feudal law were introduced. Indeed charters had been given, but these were subject to be falsified, and might readily be forged, as they were only made sure by the subscription of the party, with

cross

crosses of gold, or some other colour, and seldom entered in any publick register; whereas at this time they were made sure by the party's special seal set upon wax, attested by three or four subscribing witnesses, and recorded in books appointed to be kept for the purpose.

These registrations came in time to augment the revenue of the crown, which hitherto consisted in what has been represented, and of forfeitures both of lands and goods in cases of treason, and fines, or some known mulctuary punishments upon other crimes, which were distinctly prescribed in the laws even for manslaughter and murder itself, the rigour of the times not extending to blood, except in those cases where the common safety of the kingdom was concerned by the danger of the king.

By these and such-like orders and institutions, the clemency as well as justice wherewith they were administered, the king, how new soever his reign, how disputed his title, and how disagreeable soever on account of his foreign birth, yet so far gained the general affections and satisfaction of the commoners of the realm, who ask nothing but security in their estates and properties, that no commotions raised against his government, though in favour of a better right and title to the crown, were ever supported by the common people, who compose the bulk of the nation, and whose general good or ill humour, satisfaction or discontent, will ever have the most forcible influence for the preservation or ruin of any state.

But though the common people looked upon him as their deliverer from the oppression and tyranny of their superiors and lords, yet the few nobles, who survived the slaughter at Hastings,

discovered great discontents on account of the forest laws, which they complained were executed with a strictness hitherto unknown; for in the first seizure and distributions of the British lands by the conquering Saxons, besides those reserved to the kings, or divided among the people, and held by the tenures, either of knight's service, or of book-land, as it was termed by the Saxons, and thereby distinguished from that of villanage, by which a farmer held a possession at the pleasure of a superior, there were many great tracts of barren, wild, or woody lands left undisposed of, and in a manner waste, so great numbers of British inhabitants having been extinguished by the wars, or retired into Wales, Cornwall, Britanny, and Scotland, and the new Saxons not content to share among them any lands, but such as were fruitful and fit to be cultivated, these were inclosed or improved, as well as inhabited, by the new proprietors, and the others left waste and undisposed of. The whole country was full of all sorts of wild game in the time of the Britons, who lived at large without inclosures, with but little property, and subsisted upon hunting, fishing, and fowling, which they had all in common. Upon the inclosing and cultivating of the fruitful lands by the Saxons, the wild beasts naturally afraid of neighbours, fled into the wilds where they found shelter, and fed, though hardly yet not out of common sight and noise; and hereby all those vast woody and desolate tracts of land became replenished with all kind of game, especially with red and fallow deer, and formed all those several extents of ground, which were afterward called forests.

and in the year 1066 the king ordered that the forests should be inclosed and the deer should be kept in the forests.

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The Saxon kings considered these as their undoubted property, as never having been disposed of, either in the first division of the land, or by after grants from the crown. This right was not disputed, nor was any use made of it, further than for the pleasure of the kings, who never restrained the nobles or knights in the neighbourhood from hunting upon them; and these were so moderate as to commit no excesses, nor destroy the game, which it is every gentleman's interest to preserve, both for their sport and the quarry, and for the uses made of it for common pasturage among all that live near it.

The king of England, having observed with regret, the insatiation of all ranks of people, in preferring hunting and fishing to industry and manufactory, seized upon these forests as part of the crown demesnes; and being desirous that people of distinction should apply to the study of the sciences, and improvement in agriculture, he in some measure restrained these, but gave full power to the common people to use the liberty of hunting whenever they pleased; nor would he have indulged them, but that he knew they had not time, from their necessary labour, to pursue such idle amusements. From the beginning of his reign he had formed the plan of rendering England a mercantile nation, for which nature had endowed it with so many conveniencies; he had an emulation to make his regal dominions as considerable as those of France; he was very desirous of increasing the naval power of the kingdom, the multitude of her ships, the increase of her trade and commerce, all which happened afterwards; he had in himself, as duke of Normandy, the dominion of the channel, though

sometimes it was disputed by the French; but now that he was in possession of the two countries bordering upon it, he thought that by the law of nations his right was indisputable.

Had he not made a very large forest in Hampshire, which he called the new forest, his conduct would not have been so much complained of; or had the keepers acted with discretion and civility, the clamour would soon have ceased; but door-keepers and park-keepers are not the politeſt mortals. The prevailing motive of making a forest in this country, and not in any other, is not particularly aſcertained; one thing is certain, Hampshire was a part of the Goodwin-eſtate, much blood had been ſpilt upon it, and perhaps the inhabitants had been odious for murder and for cruelty; but however that be, he extended this forest to the unuſual length of thirty miles, and committing it to a ranger, as he did the other forests, theſe impoſed fines for every treſpaſs, much exceeding the fault or value of the thing; a practice which many parliaments found afterward inevitable for preſerving the game in different counties, for diſcouraging idleneſs and ſloth, and for exciting to labour and induſtry, which I dare ſay were rather the ſprings of this prince's conduct, than the mean vice of covetouſneſs, or the exceſſive love of hunting, of which he was deſirous, though never beyond the rules of reaſon and diſcretion. As the nobles in thoſe days had but a faint idea of trade, or of the means to extend it, and as they were in the language of counſellor Lambert haters of hoſpitality; ſo they conceived a diſguſt at this procedure, and began to contrive machinations, and enter into conſpiracies againſt him; but theſe ſerved only to com-
pleat

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pleat their own ruin, to secure his power, so
establiſh his throne, to decorate a reign already
replete with wonders, and to crown with freſh
laurels a head already brilliant with the dazzling
gems of applauſe.

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BOOK

END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

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THE
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BOOK V.

The king's care to improve the country.—The revolt of Edwin and Morcar.—The character of Malcolm Kenmore, and of queen Margaret, with the insurrection in Somersetshire.—Wars with the Danes, Scots, and Northumbrians.

THE king was now in possession of more than ever any of his predecessors had thought of. By seizing upon the waste grounds and commons, he was now in a condition to make very large donations to his Norman favourites, without doing any violence to the English gentlemen, who were possessed of estates; he had the pleasure of seeing houses, temples, villages, and towns rise in the midst of woods, forests, and

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in places which had not so much as a name, he was surrounded by his nobles and faithful followers, happy in his choice of the governors set over the counties, happy in his queen, and in his children, courted by foreign potentates, and in a manner adored by his subjects: however, it is not to be imagined that he could have the universal good-will of a people, who had so lately felt the calamities of war, and who were every day dealt with by the emissaries of Harold's children to restore the Saxon race in the person of Edgar Atheling, though the main design was to restore Harold's sons to the dignity which they had lost by the death of their father, and for bringing about which some incidents no way unlikely happened, which I beg leave to relate.

At the coronation of Matilda there was, among other noblemen, the famous Henry Beaumont, whose valour and intrepidity had shone at the battle of Hastings. This young nobleman was endowed with every personal accomplishment; he had been created earl of Warwick, and governor of the province, which being almost in the heart of the kingdom, became one of the most important, and soon to be enobled with a castle of that name. This young hero, being a bachelor, wanted to make his addresses to some rich heiress; the only difficulty was to fix upon a proper object, which he soon did; for having heard of the merit and extraordinary beauty of Margaret, Edgar Atheling's eldest sister, who had withdrawn from court, and was then staying at the house of Archil, a nobleman in Northumberland, who, with his wife, devoted themselves to the preservation of a princess, no less dear to the nation than her brother. The circumstance of her retreat

treast made Henry believe that the low condition of her family would be favourable to his scheme: the only difficulty was to gain over old Archil, whose sole ambition was to procure safety to his illustrious guests, and who had kept at home, notwithstanding his son had appeared at court to pay his compliments to the new king. Henry studied an opportunity of getting acquainted with the young gentleman, proffered his assistance to procure him any favour he should think of, and in the mean time prevailed upon him to be present at the queen's coronation, where young Henry distinguished himself in all the parts of tilting, of tournaments, and all the other feats of chivalry, which on that day formed the most dazzling part of the solemnity. One of Matilda's maids of honour fell in love with young Archil; Henry observing it, and judging that the same might turn out to the advantage of his friend, he waited upon the king, and laid before him a scheme for securing in his interest a family both of power and of influence; he discovered his own passion for Margaret, and that of the lady for Archil. Having received a very polite and favourable answer, he intimated to the young Northumbrian the propriety of a match between the maid of honour and him; but Archil received the insinuation with indifference, and being pressed upon it, he intimated his engagements, for he had fixed his heart upon the princess Margaret.

Though Henry was startled at this, yet he did not discover his own passion, but rather doubled his caresses and generosity toward him, and in a short time the two set out on a party of pleasure for the North; for being assured of the king's

king's approbation, he only wanted by his own presence to captivate a heart, which he was afraid would be proof against representation and remonstrance: he had the pleasure of seeing her, and conversing with her, and from her every charm, his heart was still the more captivated, for fame had not told him the half of her virtues: he proposed marriage, and receiving no unfavourable answer, there seemed to be nothing wanting, but the formal consent of the king.

In the interim Edwin observed, that the match between the king's daughter and him was going backward, he became not a little chagrined for his disappointment, and intimating to his brother Morcar the trick which he apprehended the king was putting upon him, he told him that the honour of their family required not to put up with such affronts, but to shew a proper resentment. Thus the coal of dissention was kindled, and Bletwyn prince of Wales, nephew to Edwin and Morcar, fomented the flames: he sent them a body of troops, which being joined to some raised upon their own estates, and furnished by their friends, made no inconsiderable army; and to give a sanction to their proceedings, they had the address to gain over Edgar Atheling, under pretence that this armament was intended to fix him upon the throne. Archil the elder declared for the insurgents, so that when a courier appeared at London with the news of the revolt, it could not fail of raising a consternation in every person, but particularly in Henry de Beaumont, who by virtue of his office, he being generalissimo of the king's forces, would be obliged to set against the friends and family of her upon whom he had centered his affection, and had fixed

fixed the future hopes of his felicity. As diligence is the soul of every expedition, so the king assembled an army with his wonted alacrity, and in all haste marched thence toward Northumberland, where the rebels had first rendezvoused, and were now marching southward: but though he put himself at the head of his troops, yet the Norman lords could not, in point either of fidelity or politeness, refuse to accompany their sovereign; and Henry had the mortification to be employed to seize the sisters of prince Edgar, and to punish Archil, by making a diversion upon his estates, and subjecting his followers to the devastations and calamities of war; nor could he mitigate the rigour of his instructions any other way, than by secretly advising Archil to withdraw. In the mean time the king had come up with the rebels near York, and defeated them. Prince Edgar, Edwin, Morecar, and Cospatrik, with a prodigious multitude, fled towards Scotland. The places of strength sent their keys to the conqueror, so that from the Humber to the Tyne, every place surrendered to his arms; and York itself could not endure the sight of troops incensed and victorious: the citizens not only submitted, but received a Norman garrison into their citadel. In a word, Archil was left to the discretion of Henry, or rather of the king himself, who now seemed astonished at the slow proceedings of his general, and he on the other hand trusting the generosity of his master, who had been apprized of his passion, left Archil and the princess Margaret in the full possession of every thing, and without doing violence to any person the least connected with them. This he did in hopes of accomplishing his views at the end of the war, however

however, that he might not be thought wanting in his duty altogether, he prevailed upon Archil to deliver his son as an hostage for his fidelity, and for the loyal behaviour of his followers; but scarce was Henry gone off with the troops under his command, when Archil and the princess took the road to Scotland, in order to join prince Edgar and the nobles, who had fled thither. The king being somewhat chagrined at the perfidy of Archil, and no less displeased at Henry for his neglect of duty, he even insinuated the necessity he lay under of making some examples, at least of falling upon a method to make the English tender of their allegiance, and careful to maintain good faith: but scarce had he made the declaration, when news came that the princess Margaret was married to the king of Scotland, an event which made such an impression upon young Archil, that he laid violent hands upon himself, while Henry, whose passion was not so strong as to hurry him to this extremity, applied to the use of every possible method for being reconciled to the king.

After suppressing this insurrection, he found it necessary not only to appoint governors in the remote provinces, but also to order the laws against murder to be more strictly executed; as seldom a day passed in which some of the Norman soldiers were not found dead in the woods, and even in the high ways; partly by wolves, and other beasts of prey*, and partly by the inhabitants. Robert Cummin, a nobleman of

* As ravenous animals abounded in the woods at that time, so it was no tyranny to order many of these to be cut down.

Normandy, was appointed governor of Northumberland, whose neighbourhood to the Scottish dominions gave ground to apprehend trouble from that quarter; but great as the conqueror was, yet his choice of Cummin was unfortunate, he being an imperious and designing man, who, by oppressing the natives, drove them through despair to such mad undertakings, as their natural ardour and bravery would never have thought of, especially as they were closely connected with the Scots, to whose king they had given an asylum, during his exile from his native country.

The king of Scotland at that time was Malcolm III. commonly called Kenmore*, on account of his wisdom and sagacity: he was son to Donald king of Scotland, the same who was barbarously murdered by Macbeth at Inverness, anno 1040: his mother was daughter to the famous Siward earl of Northumberland, who received him kindly into his castle of Alnwick, and sheltered him for many years during the time of Macbeth's usurpation; he even carried him to the court of king Edward the confessor, who, having been an exile himself, discovered that generous sympathy toward the young man, which did honour to himself, and is among the noblest anecdotes of that prince's character. While in England, Malcolm became acquainted with almost the whole of the nobility, and such as came to court; his obligations to the royal family of England could not fail to be remembered at a time when he espoused the fairest princess, the eldest daughter of the family, a woman unparalleled

* Great head, which is the Scots phrase for a man of deep penetration and judgment.

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in her person, matchless in her virtues, brilliant in her character, and glorious in the goodness of her heart: the hand of Providence was visible in every step that promoted the match between Malcolm and her; she was in more senses than one the parent of many families, and was the mother of three kings: a daughter of this marriage was afterward queen of England, and was married to the conqueror's son, by which event the Saxon line was restored, and the English were treated with the same tenderness as by their natural sovereigns. It was easy to trace up the lineage of the different crowned heads in Europe to this illustrious queen, of whom it might well have been said, that she was to be the mother of nations, and that kings of people should be from her *. She was a model of conjugal and parental affection, admired while alive, canonized by the church after her death, and known to posterity by the name of the "Modest Queen."

Scotland has ever been remarkable for hospitality and kindness to strangers, and these virtues never shone with brighter lustre than now; their king was a man of undaunted courage, great bodily strength, generous in his sentiments, noble in his principles, and elevated in his schemes; the country was devoted to him, after having bled under a tyrannical usurpation: he repaid their fidelity with all the caresses and smiles that could flow from a throne; he had introduced the honourable titles of Earl, Lord, and Knight among them †, a circumstance sufficient to secure their affection, and to make them follow him whenever

* *Educet sylvia regem, regumque parentem.*

† Anno 1061.

he should think proper to call them into action : so that taking all these circumstances together, it was no wonder then if a prince of William's penetration and experience should dispose his troops in such a manner, as to be ready on every occasion, and to be careful both in the choice of his ministers and governors, especially as a storm was raging in the southern quarter.

The sons of Harold had, since their first leaving England, been watching an opportunity for regaining their father's throne ; and finding that their mother had gained over the inhabitants of Devonshire and Somersetshire, they thought that now was the time for trying their fortune, and accordingly Magnus the youngest was sent over to animate by his presence such as his mother's money and promises had almost secured in their interest : the tender age of the youth, he being only fourteen years old, screened him from being suspected by the Normans, and the fear of a discovery hindered his being countenanced openly by the friends of his family. However, Eadnoth could not refrain from paying his compliments to the son of his benefactor ; he set out from London, and posted to Glassenburgh, where Magnus had taken up his abode, at the time when his two elder brothers were debarking the troops which the king of Ireland had furnished to them, and which upon their first landing were joined by a great number of those who were waiting their arrival. Eadnoth had not dreamt of an insurrection, and therefore spoke only upon things in general ; but in so tender and affectionate a manner, that the young man disclosed to him the whole scheme of his friends for restoring his brother. Eadnoth's mind was now distracted

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between duty and gratitude; the first demanded that he should directly withdraw, and advertise the king, while the other called upon him to deal tenderly with the sons of his benefactor and friend. To fulfil both these, he dealt candidly with Magnus, and with an upright concern endeavoured to lay open the improbability of success. Magnus, though young, had yet the policy to smother his resentment, and to pretend that he was ready to follow his advice, in order that he might deliver him up to his two brothers, who he knew were advancing to reduce Exeter. He invited Eadnoth to go along with him; the invitation was accepted from an honest view both of serving his king, and the children of his former master. Accordingly they set out together, and came up with Goodwin the pretender, who was then at the head of fourteen thousand men, full of spirits and alacrity.

After passing the usual compliments, Eadnoth began to lay open the danger they run, and the little likelihood of success against a warrior, and one who was now fully established upon the throne; he told them that the counties of Somersetshire and Devonshire were but a small part of England; that in case of a disappointment their retreat would be cut off; that the northern parts of the kingdom had declared for Edgar Atheling; Kent and Sussex abounded with Norman troops, and that Bletwyn prince of Wales had declared for the party of Edwin and Morcar; that his English friends would abandon him on the first appearance of a Norman army, and that the king of Ireland could not be supposed to send him such succours, as he had furnished but five or six thousand men for beginning the enterprize.

He informed them, that the king had not as yet disposed of the vast fortune and estates of the Goodwin family, which was their time to obtain, provided they would submit to the condition of subjects without aspiring at the crown. "I do not indeed," continued he, "addressing himself to his old pupil, "blame you for endeavouring to regain the throne, which your royal father did not relinquish but with his life; I only disapprove of the means to accomplish your desire; and am not a little surprized that your royal mother has not endeavoured to procure a fleet of ships from Denmark or Norway, to make a diversion in your favour, for I tremble at the consequences of your present undertaking; pray yield to the faithful remonstrance of your father's friend, and depend upon it that the reigning king will grant you all you can desire, *only in the throne he will be greater than you.*"

The faithful representation and advice of Eadnoth did not prevail with young men, whose thirst of power was so great, that they could not so much as dream of the difficulties that attended the aspiring thereto; they even insulted him with the name of traitor, and branded him with ingratitude, in preferring a foreign usurper to the children of his lawful king, who had loaded him with favours, and had made him the sole object of his affection and regard. Eadnoth, sensibly touched with such indignity, withdrew from them, and escaped to Exeter, where Baldwin, son to count Gilbert, commanded, having a garrison of Normans under him. With these, and the troops that were in garrison at Totness and Hunnington, and some other neighbouring villages,

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lages, he mustered an army of twelve thousand men, and advanced at their head, in hopes of defeating the adventurers, who were now in full march toward him. The armies were soon so near each other, that the onset was expected every moment, when Eadnoth, who was in Baldwin's retinue, moved from the tenderness of his heart at the approaching fate of the young men, begged of Baldwin that he might be permitted to try to bring about an accommodation, in order to prevent the effusion of human blood. His request was granted, he came forth with a white rod in his hand, and having on him a long white robe reaching down to his ankle, in this manner he advanced singly between the two armies, and desiring to speak with the prince, as he called him, young Goodwin and his two brothers came out from the ranks to a conference. Upon their meeting each other, he began to intreat that they would hearken to terms of agreement: the two youngest, Edmund and Magnus, heard the proposal with attention; but Goodwin, who inherited all the cholerick temper of his grandfather, run him through the body with a lance, branding him with the names of ingrateful and perjured. At this outrage the Normans became furious and exasperated; they gave the onset with more impetuosity than discipline, and plunged full into the thickest ranks of the enemy. The battle was long, obstinate, and bloody, and the royalists having disordered their own ranks, victory fell to the pretender, merely through the power and desperate efforts of the Irish troops which he had brought with him. However, Baldwin made a very honourable retreat, and saved the best part of the army, with which he reached Exeter, and

there waited for the succours that were hastening to him.

Had Goodwin known how to use the victory, he might have given much more trouble; but this unexperienced young man ordered the estates of all such as would not voluntarily come to his assistance to be ravaged. People were burnt in their own houses, and the most shocking barbarities were committed with impunity. In the mean time Baldwin, being joined by fresh forces, marched in quest of Goodwin, who on his part thought proper to retire to the fleet, and to return to Ireland, as the soldiers that composed his army had deserted his standards, and that the Irish auxiliaries refused to execute the barbarous and desolating orders they had received. And thus the death of Eadnoth was followed by two things, which he had earnestly desired in his lifetime, the preservation of the three princes, and the establishment of the king's throne, which was now more firmly secured.

The courier, who was sent with the news of Goodwin's retreat, found the king at the head of a body of troops, and in full march to check the progress of the enemy; but on perusing the account, he returned with the forces, whom he sent to their different quarters of cantonment; and learning that Githa the widow of Harold had retired from Exeter and sailed to Denmark with an immensity of treasure, he thought it needless to retain any longer in his own hands the vast estates of the Goodwin family, which he resolved to parcel out among such as had most faithfully served him. Accordingly he created his queen Matilda countess of Kent, in consideration of the ship Mora, which she presented

sented him with at Valery; and least so great a title might be ominous, as solely vested in a woman, he created his brother Odo count thereof, and grand justiciary of England, with one hundred and eighty fiefs in that shire alone, besides two hundred and fifty-five in other districts. His brother Robert obtained the county of Cornwall, in which he had two hundred and eighty-eight manors, besides five hundred and fifty-eight which he possessed in other parts of the kingdom. William the son of Osborn had the whole county of Hereford. The county palatinate of Chester was bestowed upon Hugh Loup-d'Avranche, the king's sister's son, who was to possess it with all the rights of regality, and to be independent of the crown. Alan Fergeant duke de Bretagne, who had lately married Constantia, one of the king's daughters, was put into the full possession of all the estates belonging to count Morcar*, with all the rights of regality. He gave to Roger Montgomery the towns of Arundel and Chichester, and soon after the whole county of Salop; to Walter Giffard the county of Buckingham, and to William Warren the county of Surry. Endes count de Blois obtained a part of the Lordship of Holderness, Raoul de Guaer, a nobleman of Britany, was created earl of Norfolk, Suffolk, and lord of Norwich; Henry de Ferriers had the castle of Tutbury; William bishop of Constance was put in possession of two hundred and eighty manors, which he left at his death to his nephew

* He was possessed of Mercia, which comprehended Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Leicestershire, Rutland and Northamptonshires, Nottingham, and Staffordshire.

Robert Mowbray. It would be needless to run over all the names of those who were thus enriched by the king's bounty. One thing is evident, that no man was turned out of his possession. Such of the English as behaved peaceably were sheltered under the protection of the laws, and many of them were reinstated into these lands, which had been wrested from them during the tyranny of the Goodwin family.

As so great a number of Norman lords were put in the possession of such vast and immense estates, it was no wonder that the Norman laws, customs, and language, should be in some measure introduced. The feudal law was brought in at that time, and prevailed every where; but the language could not so universally obtain; for as no persons were molested, except such as were actually in arms, and that few of the corporation towns had opposed the reigning sovereign, so it was not so easy a matter to usher in a language, to which the bulk of the people were absolute strangers. The king himself understood the language of the country, which was the same as now, but far from being so polished or refined; many of the noblemen, gentlemen, and officers, who had married English ladies, did in compliance to them study the English tongue; so that notwithstanding the Norman books of law were introduced, that deeds and conveyances were wrote either in the Latin or in the Norman language, yet the same never universally prevailed; nor indeed was the king desirous it should, as he wanted his crown to be as brilliant as possible, and his kingdom to be independent, which never could be the case, while a foreign language was spoken at court. The names of places were not changed

changed, as when the Saxons or Danes prevailed; every thing, so far as the safety of the publick and the security of the throne would admit, was continued in its former situation.

Had this illustrious prince, who was no less an enemy to superstition than to cruelty and oppression, never meddled with the clergy, his name had been transmitted to posterity with the most odoriferous perfumes of applause. However, he was not to be blinded by priestcraft, nor yet was he to be terrified by the interdictions or thunders of the church; for observing the decay of religion, and the spreading contagion of vice and of lewdness, he ordered a visitation of the clergy at Westminster, where two cardinals from Rome were present as delegates from the pope, with whom William had more interest than the whole English clergy put together; and indeed it was no wonder, considering his dukedom of Normandy, his connections upon the continent, and the little deference which the church in England paid for some time to the Roman see. It is pity that there is no journal of their proceedings extant; however, from the circumstance of the king's general character for piety and goodness, and of his being present in person, we have all the reason in the world to believe that the trials went on with the utmost candour and impartiality, and perhaps the crimes alledged against the clergy, such as simony, perjury, and others of the most atrocious nature, were proved with all the aggravations of horror and of cruelty. Be that as it will, many of the bishops, among whom was Stigand archbishop of Canterbury, were deposed, and Normans and other foreigners were substituted in their room, among whom was the famous

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Lanfranc * abbot of Bec, who, after having refused the archbishopric of Rouen, suffered himself, for the good of the church, to be advanced to the see of Canterbury.

The king could not have given a greater instance of his zeal for promoting religion, than in his choice of so disinterested and faithful a man, one who had taught divinity for many years, the most learned person of his time, and of such candour of manners and piety of life, that there was nothing wanting to render him a most accomplished prelate. He was born at Pavia, a city in Lombardy, was first introduced into the world by the sweetness of his temper, to dignity in the church by his moderation and goodness, and rose to the exalted station of primate of all England from the gratitude and courtesy of the king, who, notwithstanding he had relations in the church, yet preferred this man on account of his merit only; and so worthy was he of the exalted station, that it became a proverb, "Such a king as William, and such a bishop as Lanfranc, is not in the whole world."

Never did prince shew more regard to clergymen, when worthy of their character, than did this pattern of piety, and of every royal virtue; he treated Alfred, who had performed the ceremony of the coronation, with the affection of a son, and set an example to his subjects, that he both feared and loved the fathers of the church: for when that prelate, upon being refused a living to a clergyman, broke out into a violent passion, and expostulated sharply with the king, and flinging out of the room in a transport of

* In English a generous soul.

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rage, the sovereign staid him, and fell at his feet, desiring pardon, and promising all the satisfaction in his power. The noblemen present put the archbishop in mind of his duty, and that he should do reverence to the person of the king. No, answered the prelate, "Let him alone, let him still abide at St. Peter's feet;" and so the king continued upon his knees, until the nobles had appeased Alfred, and had with great difficulty prevailed upon him to accept of the favour which had been denied him.

So haughty a behaviour could not be extremely agreeable, and therefore it was no wonder then, if upon the death of Alfred, which happened in the year 1070, a stranger should be named to succeed him; and accordingly Thomas, one of his chaplains, a Norman, and canon of Bayone in Normandy, was appointed to the vacant see. This was another instance of the king's regard to merit; for there were in England many bishops, Normans by birth, before his arrival, and yet he was only guided in his choice by a consciousness of worth, and of what was due to the deserving person. He was an enemy to all female solicitations in favour of clergymen; none but persons of an approved life and conversation were ever preferred during the course of his reign. As an instance of his justice, he took care to settle every difference that arose between churchmen, and in a particular manner that which broke out between the archbishops of Canterbury and York for precedence; the contest arose at the ceremony of their consecration, but the king ordered it to be dropt at that time, and recommended the matter to be considered by the pope, from whom each of them were soon to receive their palls. Accordingly they

they went to Rome, where the pope treated them both with the most generous civility, particularly Lanfranc, to whom he gave two palls, one of honour, and the other of courtesy, but referred the contest to be determined in England, which was done in about two years after.

The meeting sat at Windsor in the year 1072, and is among the most solemn that had ever happened within the kingdom; the annals of the times have preserved the very pleadings upon the occasion, both as they set out the justice of the decision, and the equitable temper of the king, who, far from taking the matter upon himself, ordered the whole dignified clergy to assist him in the determination, and gave a general direction for every person, from the highest to the lowest in that function, to give what light they were capable of into a matter of so great importance; and being seated in the midst of the nobles and clergymen, the two archbishops came before them in their surplices, and maintained in the best manner, and with all their rhetoric, the validity of the right which both of them claimed.

The primate of York was the first to be heard, and he began with alledging, that when the Britons first embraced the Christian religion in the time of Lucius their king, Eleutherius, then bishop of Rome, sent Faganus and Damianus unto them; that these ordained twenty-eight bishops, and two archbishops within the realm, one of London, and the other of York, which last became the seat of emperors, and was the birth-place of Constantine the Great; that the church in Britain was from that period governed by successive bishops for the space of three hundred years, until the country was subdued by the

Saxons,

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Saxons, who banished the Christian religion, and introduced paganism; that these continued mere heathens, until the time of Gregory bishop of Rome, who sent Augustine to preach the Christian faith; that Ethelbert king of Kent was converted by Augustine, who was made archbishop of Dover by appointment of Gregory; that certain pallis were sent him by the Roman pontiff, and with these a letter from Rome. By this letter, continued he, it is evident that Gregory intended to reduce the church of the Saxons to the same order wherein it was among the Britons, namely, to be under twelve bishops, and two archbishops, one of London, and the other of York. It is true, he gave to Augustine, during his life, authority over all bishops and priests in England; but after his decease, these two were settled upon an equality, with the same power to consecrate bishops, to oversee the affairs of the church, to consult and to dispose of things pertaining to the government thereof, as in former times among the Britons. Between these the Roman pontiff put no distinction in honour, but only as they were in priority of time; and as he appointed London to be consecrated by no bishop, but by his own synod, so he expressed that the bishop of York should not be subject to the bishop of London: and albeit Augustine, for the reason before-mentioned, translated the bishops sent from London to Dover, yet if Gregory had intended to bestow the authority of St. Augustine upon his successors, he would certainly have expressed it in his epistle; but in so far as he makes no mention of successors, these stand for ever as effectually excluded, as if the exclusion had been mentioned in the most precise and apposite terms.

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To

To this Lanfranc replied, that he was not concerned with what had happened in the dark ages before the arrival of the Saxons, a period when the whole nation was in a manner metamorphosed; that he would take up the matter from the time of St. Augustine, who was the first to bear the name of an English bishop, and that from him to the days of Bede (which were about 140 years) the bishops of Canterbury, which in ancient time was called Dover, had the primacy both over Britain and Ireland; that they had called the bishops of York to their councils, some of which they had even held within the province of York; that the bishops of Canterbury had constituted some bishops of York, had excommunicated some, and had removed others. He particularly mentioned many privileges granted to the Cantian primates by several princes, and by the apostolic see itself, for continuing the dignity in the successors of St. Augustine; that there was some reason for receiving directions to live well, from that fountain whence we had the first directions to believe aright; and as the bishop of Canterbury was subject to the bishop of Rome, as having his commission from thence, so should the see of York be subject to that of Canterbury, as the first English bishop of the former had been consecrated by Augustine the first bishop of the latter; and that as our Saviour said to every successor of St. Peter, what he had said to St. Peter himself; so what Gregory had said to St. Augustine, he likewise said to all his successors. He concluded with telling them, that he looked upon what the reverend father had said of London, as no way to the purpose; and further, that there is no certainty of St. Augustine's residing in that metro-

metropolis, or that Gregory had ever appointed him to reside there.

The pleadings being ended, the king as praeses summed up the evidence in a very candid and ingenious manner. He observed, " that after a
" general transformation, when the face and state
" of persons and of things natural, civil, and
" religious, had taken place in England, when
" all that was Roman or British expired, or rather
" became Saxon, it would be difficult to come at
" the truth of the case between the bishop of
" London and of York, for both which places
" he had the highest respect and regard; that
" he would be glad to encourage every city, and
" every corporation town, and could not without
" veneration look upon York, as it had given
" birth to Constantine the Great; and could any
" voucher be brought, that so distinguished and
" illustrious a person had dignified that or any
" other see with the pre-eminence claimed by the
" contending parties, he should have difficulty to
" form his opinion; but that the case must now
" be taken up intirely from the time that the
" country was called England; and in this light
" he thought it undeniable that the archbishopric
" of Canterbury was preferable both in time and
" in degree; that he would make no manner of
" innovation, except with the consent of the
" states of the kingdom, and that every thing
" should continue as it was for him." To this
the whole assembly agreed; and so it was ordained,
that York for that time should be subject to Can-
terbury; that in whatever part of England the
archbishop of Canterbury should hold a council,
the archbishop of York should come into it, with
the bishops of his province, and be obedient to

his decrees; that when the archbishop of Canterbury should die, the primate of York should repair to Canterbury to consecrate the person that was to succeed, and in the event of the archbishop of York's death, his successor was to go to Canterbury, or to such place as the archbishop of Canterbury should appoint, there to be consecrated; but not before he had taken an oath of canonical obedience. In this manner was the contention taken away for the first time, yet not so fully, but that it broke out afterward, though not in this reign; for never did clergy pay more deference to a sovereign, than did the English churchmen ever after to this illustrious monarch, whose views and regulations were all calculated for the welfare and happiness of the community: and to such a degree did he patronize both churches and churchmen, that when the great cathedral of St. Paul was consumed at a terrible fire which happened soon after, he gave the stones of his own castle*, which was consumed at that time, toward erecting the east end thereof, and not only so, but he annexed to the see of London the castle of Sturford, with the lands appertaining thereto, and confirmed all its privileges and immunities in the fullest manner.

This happy agreement with the clergy was one of the chief springs by which he broke, as with an irresistible engine, the troubles that were raised by some few malecontents at home, but fomented by foreigners, who generally delight to kindle a civil war in any state of whose greatness and power they may be apprehensive.

* It stood in Blackfriars, and upon the banks of the Thames.

Ever

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Ever since the battle of Hastings there had been machinations and conspiracies in one part or another, and Githa, the widow of Harold had not been wanting to raise him enemies; she bore an invincible hatred to the Normans, and is even said by some authors to have entertained the addresses of a young Norman nobleman, who a little before her leaving the kingdom, she violently pushed over a rock, as he was hawling a boat to come to. This incensed woman had with her immense treasures repaired to the court of Swaine king of Denmark, of whose antipathy to the English nation she was not ignorant. With all her address and eloquence she endeavoured to spirit him up to an invasion of the realm; she told him that many of the English natives had withdrawn into foreign countries, in order to wait a favourable opportunity for appearing under an enterprizing leader in their own; that many of the Normans, and such as had come over with the tyrant, had been killed in battle; some had died a natural death, and others had been murdered in woods, and upon the highways; that the Norman ladies, shocked at such treatment which arose from oppression, had not only refused to come over to England with their families, but had even sent their husbands word, both by message and in writing, that if they did not leave England, and return to their own houses, they would disannul their matrimonial connections, and seek out others who would be more tender of them; that many of their most renowned captains had complied*; that neither the threats nor solicitations

* Though Oderic Vital is the single historian who mentions this reason of the Normans returning to their

licitations of the usurper could prevent their return; that Hugh de Grente Meinel, governor of Winchester, and Humphrey de Tilly, governor of Hastings, had discovered a singular ardour upon the occasion; that the lady of the former, being one of the finest women in Europe, was a particular enemy to the tyrant, on account of his harbouring a dishonourable passion, and looking with a criminal eye upon her. She told him, that the Norman governors were wretchedly cruel and oppressive to the inhabitants; that the soldiers were rapacious, and that the Northumbrians would in all probability be ready, like the other countries, to shake off the yoke, more especially as they had lived contiguous to Scotland, whose king was lately married to the princess Margaret, of whom he was every way fond; that the Scots monarch was young, full of courage and intrepidity; was at the head of a warlike nation, whose interest it was to cultivate a correspondence with Denmark; that multitudes would crowd to his standards the moment he set foot on English ground; that her sons would be ready to come over from Ireland on the first probability of success; and that the people of Wales would never be for thwarting any scheme that had a tendency to deliver England from the chains that had been rivetted upon her: she told him that Marleswent, a Kentish nobleman, was disgusted against the tyrant, for his harbouring a criminal passion for his niece, who was a daughter of one of the canons of Canterbury, and that Matilda had spread

their own country, yet he was an eye-witness of many of the transactions at that time, and seems to have been candid.

the discontent, by ordering the young woman's jaws to be slit in a fit of jealousy.

These and such like arguments easily determined a man already bent upon revenge, and who had a claim upon the crown; and to encourage him the more, there arrived an ambassador from the court of Scotland, with a notification of the king's marriage, and with letters from Edgar Atheling, the purport of which was to enter into a league offensive and defensive with him, and to crave his assistance in an attempt, which the people of Northumberland were meditating; that these not being polished by learning, nor refined by education, had no other guides but their own natural sagacity, and yet that it was astonishing with how much discretion and prudence they were conducting the project already formed; that the Northumbrian chiefs had so far convinced the inhabitants of secrecy being the life and soul of every expedition, that not a woman or child had committed the least indiscretion, or had dropt a word concerning the intended effort. The truth is, that Cumming their governor had by his oppression and tyranny united the whole into a confederacy against the Norman government; they even sent deputies to Swaine, conjuring him by the memory of his grandfather, Canute the Great, to lend his assistance against an enemy whose oppression they were not able to bear.

Nothing could be more agreeable to Swaine, than the remembrance of his grandfather Canute, whose right he was persuaded entirely devolved upon himself, and so he prepared for the enterprise, and in the mean time sent an express to Almar to Eric, king of Sweden, desiring his countenance to the intended project, which that prince

prince was not averse to grant, as he was married to the eldest daughter of Edmund the grandson of Ethelred, and eldest son to Edmund Ironside; and that a sister of his queen was married to a very powerful Swedish nobleman, to whom she had bore many children, among whom several daughters, who had intermarried with the most powerful and opulent in the kingdom.

Though Swaine was very desirous of making a fortune in England, a country every way preferable to Denmark, yet he thought such an expedition more adapted to his son's years, than to his own; and therefore committed the care thereof to his brother Osborn, who being told that the Norwegians were to embark in the undertaking, he became more inflamed than ever with a desire of serving in so good and glorious a cause: however, his earnestness proceeded from another motive, for he had fallen in love with a Norwegian lady, and judged, that by putting himself at the head of an expedition of such importance, he might have an opportunity of winning her affection; and captivating her heart, and the rather, as Cospatrick, a Northumbrian nobleman, was in his retinue, and had flattered his vanity so much, as to assure him of the throne; and thus in full spirits he loosed from Copenhagen in a fleet of two hundred sail: his real design was first to conquer the fair Norwegian, whereas that of Swaine was to recover the English throne.

Being joined by some Norwegian soldiers, and a few ships from Bergen, and having obtained from the lady a promise of marriage so soon as the enterprize should be accomplished, he proceeded in his voyage, and sent Cospatrick into Northumberland, and a small coasting vessel into Scotland.

Scotland, to desire that Malcolm and Edgar Atheling might take the field; and with all convenient speed hasten forward, that the forces, when united, might make the more sensible impression.

Scarcely was the message delivered, when the Scots army was put in motion, and orders were sent to the commissaries upon the borders to send arms as fast as possible to the Northumbrians, who impatiently waited for them; and every thing being complied with, there was so perfect a harmony between the operations of the Danish fleet, the insurrection of the people of Northumberland, and the alertness of the Scots forces, that almost the armies were ready to unite before the king of England had an account thereof.

As the Northumbrians felt the heaviest weight of the yoke, so they with the greater eagerness embraced the opportunity; a body of them marched to Durham, where the governor had fixed his head quarters; and having kept up a correspondence with the town's people, they agreed to be ready at a certain hour to make a joint assault upon the garrison. Accordingly, at the hour appointed, the assailants came to the outside of the rampart, and the inhabitants to the other; the centinels were seized in an instant, without having either time or opportunity for giving the alarm; the rampart was thrown down, and an enraged enemy entering, the Normans were attacked upon every quarter. Cumming was roused out of his sleep with the noise of the wounded and dying; he endeavoured to get up, in order to stem the torrent, and to make head against them; but before he could put on his clothes, the head quarters were beset on every side, and his guards, who made resistance, were cut

cut in pieces: in a word, his house was set on fire, and he himself perished in the midst of the flames. Smaller parties appeared in other districts, and attacked the Normans wherever these were found; so that in the space of three days there were no less than seventeen bloody skirmishes, in which, though the Normans were victorious, yet they lost abundance of men.

At this time Osborn, after hovering for several days upon the northern coast, disembarked his forces; his mind was distracted between the fondness of his passion, and the desire of reviving the memory of Canute the Great. His eye was upon the throne of England, in order to attain the good graces of the princess, and yet he durst not communicate his real intentions, either to the people of Northumberland, or yet to the Scots king, who had now joined with the Northumbrian insurgents, and in full march to join the Danish auxiliaries; and all of these, when united, made up as terrible and numerous an army as had appeared in England for many years. However, they were various in their arms, different in their language, distorted in their schemes, and unresolved in their views and plans of operation, though the Scots and English differed in language, yet they united in promoting Edgar Atheling, whereas Osborn was for himself.

This numerous, but disjointed body marched towards York directly, as Osborn had despised the small parties of Normans who were dispersed through the county. York was but ill fortified, and could not withstand an enemy; but the citadel which William had lately built, was spacious, and so well fortified, that the Normans, who were in the city, entered into a resolu-

lation

tion of joining the garrison, and defending the place to the last extremity, until the succours should arrive from the king: for this purpose they set the suburbs on fire, in order to retard the approaches of the besiegers; but the flames spreading by means of a strong east wind, which at that time began to blow, the houses of the town were on fire in an instant; the cathedral, the monastery of St. Peter, with the large and valuable library, which was begun by archbishop Ebert in the year 800, and continued to be augmented by the munificence of succeeding prelates, and other great men, were reduced to ashes. Osborn with joy saw the conflagration, he rushed in with his Danes, and passed through the flames to the citadel, where after a brisk assault they entered pell-mell, and put all to the sword, to the number of 3000 men.

The massacre at York rendered Osborn more rapacious; he thundered through the different places of the county with a terror every way impetuous: his hungry Danes spared neither age nor sex; the wives and daughters of the inhabitants fell victims to their brutality, while the aged and the infant, whom the sympathy and compassion of the Northumbrians had spared, fell in the general carnage; their resentment and revenge against the English nation burnt with such intenseness, as to be deaf to every remonstrance; no regard was paid to dignity. The generous Malcolm heard with regret of the calamities of the country, to whom he wished extremely well, as it had given him an asylum in the time of his exile; he was sorry to find it ravaged by men, who pretended to come for their deliverance, and went to expostulate with Osborn. Edgar Atheling joined

joined in the remonstrance, being struck with horror at the hardships put upon those whom he judged to be his subjects. Edwin and Morcar began to feel for the distresses which were partly occasioned by their means, and the former, like the Historians who have wrote of those times, began to doubt whether his disappointment flowed from the king, or from the princess the king's daughter; or if it proceeded from the bad accounts given of him by his countrymen at court. Waltheof was too much of a soldier to shake of humanity; he breathed the spirit of his heroic father, and possessed the same clemency of disposition with him. Marleswert, though born in the southern part of the kingdom, yet could not behold the miseries of the northern districts without emotion and concern; Cospatrick equally felt for the bleeding wounds of his country; and he told Osborn that their quarrel was with the king, but not with the people: however, all arguments were ineffectual with a man whose quarrel was with the people, but not with the king. His two nephews Harold and Canute were tutored to his mind; his officers and soldiers were of the same cruel disposition; nothing was to be done, unless they had turned their arms against him: so that on the disagreeableness of their situation they withdrew in discontent with each other, though at the same time united in one common cause.

The news of these barbarities occasioned a general consternation, and raised an anxious horror in every breast, except in that of the king, who coolly considered the matter, and, like a skillful pilot in the middle of a storm, examined what course it would be best to steer for getting to a place of safety: he had indeed from the

beginning, apprehended a storm from the north, but could not conceive how the same could be so thick, or blow so impetuously; he had sent a messenger to the court of Scotland, to know the reason why Malcolm gave reception to so many of his English subjects, especially to such as had taken up arms against the government, and fled from the punishment which their crimes deserved. The answer of the Scots monarch was easy and unpremeditated; he told the English ambassador that he had no standing army; that his intent was to live in peace with all mankind, but particularly with his brother William of England; that the wounds which his own dominions had received from the ravages of the Danes, and from intestine broils during the late usurpation, were too deep to be instantly healed; and that as for Edgar Atheling, he had only arrived with a becoming retinue to visit his sister, and to take the diversion of hunting, for which, said he, there was the best convenience imaginable, and if you please you or any subject of the kingdom of England shall be extremely welcome to share of the pastime.

Nor had the English monarch been wanting to himself in diverting the Danes, who were then chiefly feared in England, from making an attempt upon his dominions; however, in this he did not so much as he might have done: he knew very well, that after the death of Canute, the state

Denmark was much weakened by intestine divisions; that the Norwegians had set up Magnus the son of Olaus for their king, but that the Danes had acknowledged Canute, the third of that name, by which means that powerful empire had contracted a consumption, and languished

of itself, so as to be dangerous to no neighbourhood; besides, he had purchased many sure and secret friends in that diseased monarchy, wherein all publick affairs were in a manner set to sale. Adilbert archbishop of Hamburg was a penfioner to William, and he had engaged either to hinder all hostilities, or at least to delay them, until all possible preparations might be made for baffling every effort from that quarter; so that it was the more astonishing to hear the news of a Scots and Danish invasion, at a time when he dreaded little from either of them: however, he was now to enquire into the cause of this terrible commotion, but applied himself to prevent its spreading, by a timely opposition, which might for the future prevent insurrections among his subjects, and convince other potentates, that he had sufficient force to curb any power, who durst foment rebellions and discontents against him; and first of all he sent off the queen, a woman of the most excellent virtues, notwithstanding the fatal calumpnies of Githa and of Marleswaint, and with her the young princesses, to Normandy, and dispatched couriers to the different governors through the kingdom; for not doubting but that rebellion might be general, he waited some days to find out upon what part the evil was most pressing, and most loudly called for a remedy. In the mean while he is gathering together an army to march against his enemies; and receiving assurance from the several governors, except from those in the north, that nothing was to be apprehended in their several jurisdictions, he bestows the whole of his thoughts toward that place, where the flame of war was burning with more intenseness and fury, in which the innocent

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guilty were equally involved; for the Danes had even made incursions into Northumberland, which they pillaged with no less barbarity than what they exercised in other counties: and now for the first time did he, by the advice, and consent of the English council, levy the tax called the Danegelt, to defray the charges of a Danish war.

In the whole kingdom there were not above twenty-four thousand Norman soldiers, and they were dispersed among the several governments. Of these he got together sixteen thousand combatants, and ordered a levy to be made of fourteen thousand men among the English, who were most affected to him; so that he began his march to the north with an army thirty thousand strong, all well armed, well disciplined, faithful to their cause, and breathing a spirit of resentment against those who had been the occasion of so many murders. William himself swore by the brightness of the most high, that not a Northumbrian ought to be left alive, for being the occasion of such calamities. One said, he wanted to revenge the death of his father; a second, that he would be revenged for the death of his brother; and all of them were fired with desire of vengeance for the unexpected loss of their friends. They were confident of the ability of their leader, sensible of the goodness of their cause, and no strangers to the disjointed condition of the enemy: they knew the Northumbrians to be only a furious rabble, without order or discipline; the Danes to be little better; and were convinced that the Scots king would be more formidable by himself, and at the head of his own army, than when fighting in conjunction with these.

But scarce had William begun his march, when two young men prisoners were brought before him: they had been suspected for their too prying curiosity, and seized in the king's palace. Upon examination they told him that they were Swedes, and had come over in Osborn's fleet, but not out of any hostile intention, and that a Swedish gentleman who arrived with them, and who wished extremely well to his majesty's interest, had sent them on a party of pleasure to London, with express orders to get the best information concerning the royal family, whose welfare and prosperity he had so greatly at heart. The king found no fault in them, and therefore ordered that they should be carried along with the troops; but as they advanced, such as had the care of them, observed the one to pay a more than common deference and respect to the other: and this gave occasion to their being brought a second time before the king. On examination they confessed, that one of them was the great grandson of Edmund Ironside, by one of the grand-daughters of that prince, who had been married in Sweden; that he had come over from no hostile intention against the Normans, to whom in general he bore the utmost good-will, and hoped the king would not look upon him in an unfavourable light. William put the most generous construction upon their conduct, and treated the young man with the respect and dignity that was due to the remnant of an illustrious family, who now wanted power to revive their pretensions.

Such generosity of sentiment could not fail to make an impression upon them: they had been deputed by Osborn himself to sound the inclina-

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tions of the English nobility, and to gain them over to his party; but they found the people so well affected, that there was no room for making proposals. William's goodness had wrought so wonderfully upon all, and now upon them, that they became extremely useful to him, and he was not wanting in the most tender and sympathizing caresses toward them, so as to make them his friends ever after.

During the whole time of his march, his eyes were offended with the most shocking and unheard examples of barbarous and savage cruelty; men, women, and children in troops came up to pour out their complaints before him, and to give him intelligence, which he was very desirous to receive; and arriving upon the borders of Yorkshire, he had a view of some parties of Danes, who retired as he advanced, and gave an account to Osborn of the king's approach to give him battle with an army of forty thousand men.

As Osborn was left by his allies, except some few of the more desperate, so he became more circumspect, and called in the out parties, in order to make a stand against the king of England, who never halted till within twenty miles of the Danish army, which consisted of thirty thousand men, besides ten thousand auxiliaries, a number not inferior to that of the royal army, which, though it might have destroyed that of Osborn, yet must in the event of an obstinate resistance be so greatly weakened, as to fall an easy prey to the army of Malcolm, which now hovered upon the borders of Scotland, was well armed, well disciplined, under the direction of a brave and intrepid warrior, who knew when and

where to fight, and how to improve the victory, and which consisted of thirty thousand men.

While the king of England was deliberating whether or not to attack Osborn, Edwy, who still continued a prisoner, proffered to bring about an accommodation between the king and him: that young Swede had, while at London, fallen in love with Judith the king's niece, at that time known by the name of countess of Albemarle, and eldest daughter of Hugh d'Avranches, count Palatine of Chester; he discovered his inclination to William, and a desire of confirming himself in the good graces of that monarch, under whose patronage he expected a better fortune than he could look for under Osborn. He studied the matter, and with the king's consent repaired to the Danish army, where the circumstance of his character procured him immediate access to their general, with whom he began to confer. Without the least hint of having been taken prisoner, he informed his constituent, that the nation in general was extremely devoted to the king's person and government; that his virtues were every where admired, he being a general of experience, so fortunate as never to have been conquered, and to be a man of war from his youth. He informed him that the Scots army would never fight heartily in conjunction with foreigners against the English forces; that their arms would be turned against him, so soon as ever they should be informed of his real design upon the crown for himself. "Consider," said he, "that the king of Norway and your brother are in no way cordially disposed to each other; in case your army be defeated, the frontiers of Denmark will be open, and any enemy may without

" contro

" controul penetrate with fire and with sword
 " into the heart of the state, and then you may
 " for ever bid adieu to the Norwegian lady whom
 " you so passionately and tenderly love. Others,
 " added he, are improving on your absence, and
 " are endeavouring to supplant you in the affec-
 " tions of your mistress; do not think of putting
 " a sudden period to the war by one decisive
 " engagement, which the king intends to ward
 " off: his views are to prolong the war through
 " the winter, and to fall upon you in the spring,
 " in which event your troops will be weakened
 " by desertion and skirmishes; nor can they be
 " recruited in an hostile country; whereas that
 " of the enemy may be supplied with recruits,
 " and with all kind of necessaries."

This representation wrought so much upon
 Osborn, that he signified his willingness to aban-
 don the enterprize, provided he could be reim-
 burshed the charges of the expedition; " for,"
 said he, " if I do not attain to the crown, 'tis
 " no matter whether the same be worn by the
 " duke of Normandy, or by Edgar Atheling."
 In consequence of this declaration, Edwy repaired
 to the king, with full power to conclude an ac-
 commodation between him and Osborn, and which
 was settled, upon condition of paying to the
 latter a considerable sum of money; but with this
 express proviso, not until the whole troops were
 embarked. This being settled, the Danish army
 was put on board the ships, and the sum was
 punctually paid: Osborn even made a merit to
 the commanders of the auxiliaries, that he had
 not joined the king's forces against them; for
 since their views were so different from his, it
 was but just that they should suffer for their per-
 fidy

fidy to him, as well as for their rebellion against their sovereign.

Every article being fulfilled between the king and him, he weighed anchor, and stood out to sea, though not so suddenly, but that some few of his swift sailing ships visited those towns upon the coast, where they committed outrages beyond description; and thus without any commission avenged the king's cause. The miserable Northumbrians had no safety but in flying toward Scotland, where Morcar was pressing the king of that country to march forward. He had once almost persuaded him; but now that the inhabitants of the northern counties had suffered so greatly in their persons and their properties, and that the Danish army had gone off, the Scots auxiliaries thought proper to keep within their own dominions, where an account was soon brought, that the Danish fleet was scarce out of view of the English shore, when the same was overtaken by a tempest, which dashed the greatest part of the vessels in pieces; so that Osborn, instead of getting into Norway triumphant, in order to carry off the lady, was glad to retire into the ports of Denmark with a shattered reserve both of men and of ships, to the great mortification of his brother Swaine, who banished him for ever from his presence.

So many happy circumstances left the king of England in the full possession of his dominions, and having no enemy now to fear but the garrison of York, he marched forward to besiege it, and to disperse the remainder of the Scots and Northumbrians, who had fled thither after the bargain between him and Osborn. These continued to encamp under the walls of the city,

which

which Waltheof had all this time been fortifying with different kind of outworks, between which and the place there was an open communication. But this seeming strength was a real weakness, for the king's troops had surrounded the lines of circumvallation, so as to cut off all manner of supplies; and the provision, which was sufficient to have supported the original garrison, was found to be unequal to sustain so great a number as had fled thither. They were soon reduced to the last extremity, and famine now fought the battle of an offended sovereign. Waltheof, after repeated acts of personal bravery in beating off the assailants, when endeavouring to storm the fortress, thought proper to propose a capitulation, which was soon agreed to, upon condition of surrendering themselves to the king's mercy, which was so great, that they were all forgiven; many of them were enlisted in his service, while Waltheof and Cospatrik were received into immediate confidence, and both shared in a particular manner of his bounty.

All England was astonished at the king's goodness, and the garrison began to repent for having employed their bravery against so mild and compassionate a sovereign. Waltheof and Cospatrik, in admiration of a clemency which their most extended hopes could not have thought of, threw themselves at his feet, and in tears lamented that they should have exerted a fortitude and resolution, which the king was pleased to honour with his approbation, and to make the foundation of their forgiveness. In a word, every person was wrapt up in admiration of this extraordinary goodness, which was no more than one of the ordinary actions of the king, who soon returned

in

in triumph to London, where he was received with repeated shouts and acclamations, and in two days after his arrival, he renewed the oath he had formerly taken to maintain the laws of Edward the confessor, to protect the poor and fatherless, to defend the church and the pastors thereof, to ordain good laws, and to the utmost of his power to suppress rapine and violence. This unanimous account of the historians contemporary with our hero, must overbalance what has been represented by others who wrote afterward.

But while he was receiving the congratulations of his subjects upon the success of his arms, behold all of a sudden a flame was kindled, that had like to have spread over the kingdom; for Frederic, abbot of St. Albans, a man of but little penetration and foresight, though full of ambition, and intoxicated with the riches which he had amassed together, and abandoning himself to an unheard of temerity and insatiation, he entered into a conspiracy for driving the Normans out of England: he even sent a courier into Scotland with an invitation to Edgar Atheling to come and put himself at the head of the army, which was ready to take the field in behalf of his claim; and he coming secretly into England, soon put himself at the head of the malecontents, who acknowledged him for king, and proclaimed him in several places.

Such an insurrection not a little startled the English monarch, who yet considered the matter coolly, and consulted with Lanfranc upon it: that sagacious prelate spoke upon the subject with an astonishing moderation and lenity; he told the king, that though the present insurrection ought

to be bridled by the laws, and the ringleaders to be punished with severity, yet he intreated him to defer his indignation until a more proper opportunity, when the public peace was restored. The king saw into the extent of the advice, and therefore sent a herald to the abbot, and the other chiefs of the revolt, desiring to know what grievances they complained of, and inviting them to meet him at Berkhamstead, where every redress possible should be given them. He met them there, and with the most gracious condescension and complacency heard their complaints, and promised a remedy; which had so good an effect, that the whole army declared for an agreement with the king, only the abbot, under pretext of distrusting the king's promise, proposed that he should take an oath upon the gospels to the fulfilling thereof; but the whole assembly opposed the motion, when William, to reconcile all parties, voluntarily bound himself by an oath religiously to observe his engagements: however, he ordered the ringleaders to be seized, and some of these to be imprisoned, as not being comprehended in the general promise, which struck so great a terror, that Edgar retired back into Scotland, others to Denmark, some to Ireland, while the abbot, the most guilty of the whole, repaired to the isle of Ely, where soon after he died of grief for his disappointment. But though the abbot of St. Albans was dead, yet the poison, with which he was infected, had not died; it gradually insinuated itself among the monasteries, and the abbey of Ely, which had received the last breath of the abbot of St. Albans, seemed to have imbibed his seditious principles. The isle of Ely, so called from the morass that surrounds it, was a place

a place naturally strong from its situation; and the riches of the abbey, which was its principal fortress, rendered it a proper rendezvous to the malecontents: the greatest part of those resorted thither on the first news of an insurrection, and lived in contempt of the royal authority. Edwin and Morcar, after passing through several hardships much more worthy of them, were so weak as to unite with that contemptible party; and seeing no defence but in the situation of the island, they projected a scheme for a diversion in another quarter. Edwin undertook a journey to Scotland from Ely, in order to prevail upon king Malcolm to march an army into England; he apprehended that Morcar would continue some weeks at Ely, during which time he would pass from the Scots court into Ireland, in order to animate Harold's son to an attempt upon Devonshire; but these machinations came all to nothing: for in his way to Scotland, whither he fled in disguise, he fell in with a troop of Norman cavaliers, with whom he associated. Unfortunately for him, the name of Edwin was mentioned; and these magnifying the bravery and virtues of that nobleman, he discovered himself to them, and was directly killed on the spot. Such was their rancour, that they took a pleasure of continuing his pain, that they might receive the larger reward; but in this they were disappointed: for instead of applauding the act, the king banished them from his presence, and told them that they might be glad they were not put to death, instead of receiving a gratuity, which they had the impudence to ask for: so leaving them, he repaired with a select number to reduce Ely, which was now in the hands of his enemies, among whom were Evelyn bishop of Durham.

Durham, Walter bishop of Hereford, and Thurstan abbot of Ely, who claimed the sole direction of matters in opposition to some secular lords, who had joined. As a spirit of anarchy prevails in every rebellion, so never more than now; for Everard, nephew to the bishop of Peterborough, had lately returned from Flanders, whither he had fled in the first of the former reign for some violences which he had committed; being one of the bravest men of his time, and not to be reconciled to receive orders from ecclesiastics, he took upon him to confine them to the functions of their office: he had by his merit rose to the highest employments; on the death of his father he returned into England to claim his estate, but this was confirmed to a Norman officer; at first he demanded a restitution of it, but in vain, and therefore meditated no less than to procure by his sword what he could not obtain by the justice of his cause. Such was the situation of affairs when this man of intrepidity repaired to Ely, in order to screen himself from the resentment of the king, who on his part only reproached him for not having taken a more prudent step, which might have procured him all or even more than he desired.

Everard, in order to support his character as a soldier, did every thing that could be expected for defending the place. He built a fort upon the middle of the foot-path, which was the only passage into the isle; however, their seeming strength was their real weakness, for their provision soon began to fail, and no supply could enter by reason of the king's army, who had seized upon all the adjacent territory belonging to the abbey, and threatened to destroy these with

fire and sword, if the same was not surrendered. The king was the more intent upon this conquest, as it had defied the power and policy of Canute the Great; and though he had almost been drowned in the passage off Point Gale, yet he pursued the enterprize. The monks within, terrified at the repeated menaces, began to think earnestly of regaining the king's favour; and Thurstan was so exasperated at the dishonour thrown upon his fraternity, that he secretly withdrew to the king, and proffered to deliver up the place with every person in it, the ecclesiastics not excepted. The king generously refused the perfidious offer, though at the same time he desired him to inform his associates, that ample revenge should be taken upon the estates of those who were in arms against him; and that if he was obliged to reduce them by force of arms, they must blame themselves for the hardships they might undergo; and with these words he removed to order a bridge of his own construction to be thrown over the morafs. His troops passed with alacrity, and soon were upon the isle. About one thousand of the besieged made a stand, but were soon cut to pieces; which done, the king in person visited the commons, the marshes, and by-ways, and so hemmed in the whole corps of the enemy, who being thus caught in a net, some of their ringleaders were brought forth and imprisoned, others had their eyes put out, or their hands cut off, and in that condition were carried through the country, while the whole of the common people were suffered to depart to their own habitations. In the mean time guards were set at the gates of the monastery, to prevent the monks from coming to the king with crosses

and

and other ceremonies, to solicit pardon for the criminals. He soon entered the fabric in person, with reverence beheld the tomb of St. Ethelred, and pitched a mark of gold upon the altar; then withdrawing, he appointed a stated garrison to live within it, and committed the government of Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and Bedfordshire to three of his Norman followers, and so withdrew by the same way as he had entered.

No sooner was the king retired than the church-doors were locked; and Gilbert de Clare entering the monastery to see the monks different apartments, and the place where they performed the duties of their office, he at last came into the common hall where they were at dinner. Not a little surprized at this, he said to them: "O you slothful wretches, had you no other time to dine, but while the king was in the church?" At these words they arose directly, and went thither; but finding the king was not there, they became extremely sorrowful and dejected, and in the most suppliant manner begged of de Clare to intercede for them with the king, who being then at Wilsford, they were brought before him, and by the intreaty of the noblemen present were pardoned, on paying seven hundred marks * of silver for defraying the charges of the expedition: This being agreed to, and the money being raised by sale of jewels and other ornaments, they repaired to Cambridge to pay it to the king's officers; but a groat being wanting, and consequently the weight deficient, the king was apprized of the fraud, for which he ordered them to pay a thou-

* 1400 l. of our present Money.

land marks; a sum that was raised, though not without great difficulty.

Of those who had held out the place some repented, and some gloried in the action; notwithstanding the clemency of the king, the bishop of Durham was the most inveterate, for he carried his ill-timed resentment so far as to call his sovereign by the name of bastard, and even to thunder upon him the bolts of the church: however, William had too much penetration and spirit to be startled at a step so vain and so impotent; he only ordered the bishop to be told, that for the honour of the church, and for his own particular interest, he ought to have discovered more moderation and temper, and at the same time offered to forget all his past miscarriages, provided he would give any signs of repentance for what he had done; but all to no purpose, for the man's heart being callous and obdurate, he shut himself up in the tower of Abingdon for the remainder of his life, to which he put an end by a voluntary abstinence from nourishment in order to bring an odium upon the person and memory of the king, whose goodness was so great, that he soon ordered forty cavaliers for securing the peace, as he apprehended that the inhabitants might murmur, and throw the blame upon each other.

After the reduction of Ely, there was no enemy to fear, except Edgar Atheling, and the king of Scotland, who seemed to have been drawn against his will into a war with the English monarch, having imbibed the opinion that a war, even when most successful, is always prejudicial to a state: however, he was under the direction of the fairest princess; his compassionate heart

touch'd with the misfortunes of Edgar Atheling, and the miserable Northumbrians; he looked upon his honour as attacked by the requisition that was made on the part of England to deliver up the refugees; the league between France and Scotland exist'd in full force, and the former beheld with a jealous eye the success that attended the English monarch. On all these accounts Malcolm permitted his brother-in-law to raise an army, and held himself in readiness to command it.

Scotland at that time was not so much inferior to England as it is now; neither in riches, nor in the number of its inhabitants: nor will this appear incredible, if we consider that the Saxon kings were lazy and indolent, the state had been miserably rent by division, and the country had been thinned not only by their wars with the Danes, but by civil broils, which are by far the more devouring enemy. The royal boroughs in Scotland were not much less than at this time; many places were then flourishing, which are now desolate; many abbeys, castles, and stately edifices, known now by their ruins, appeared as so many ornaments to the country, and so many witnesses of the power and care of their kings; whereas in England the number of royal boroughs was but few, and these were desolated by the wars; add to this, that the city of London itself was no more to what it is now, than Mantua was to Rome in the days of Augustus Cæsar; nor were many of the other cities in a less proportion. William was not insensible of these things; and as the Scots nation was closely united under one patriot king, while the English were distracted by party, and torn by faction, so he bent his

mind to finish this war in person, though not before he had terminated a difference, which threatened a convulsion in his own capital.

The famous Waltheof had once and again been observed in the court of the king's palace in the night-time with a number of armed men; Edwy the Swede observed him, and endeavoured to seize him; but Waltheof repulsed him, and got clear off: however, the guards were alarmed, and Edwy apprized the king, with a view to make him suspect some treasonable design at bottom, but in vain; for William's generosity was too great to entertain the remotest suspicion of one whose bravery he had witnessed, and whom he had gained over to his interest by the most gracious favours; he even enjoined silence upon Edwy, who in two or three nights afterward discovered him single and by himself in one of the galleries, and upon this expatiated with some Norman intimates, but to no purpose; but neither he nor they could alter the king's good opinion: for knowing the true character of this young Swede, he began to suspect that the whole was no other than a contrivance to divert him from marching toward Scotland. However, Waltheof was spoke to; and then it appeared that Edwy and he were rivals, having fixed their affection on the same lady, who was Judith the king's niece, and she preferred Waltheof as being a prior acquaintance, a man of power and family, and in high favour with her uncle. Accordingly the nuptials were consummated to the no small mortification of Edwy, who in disgust left the court to take ship for Sweden; but unluckily for him, the vessel and all on board was cast away in a storm.

Every

Every thing being settled, the king began his journey toward Northumberland, and was accompanied by Waltheof, whom he had created earl of Northampton and Huntingdon, in order to put himself at the head of the army, which had been already formed in that country. He was the more earnest to get forward, as the troops had met with some checks from the enemy. Roger Montgomery, who was the first general to be sent out, was routed by the English under Edgar Atheling, and by the Scotch auxiliaries. Cospatrick, lately created earl of Northumberland, had by his conduct provoked Malcolm to join the Scots army in person; for by ravaging Cumberland, which was a part of the Scots dominions, he drew upon him the resentment of their king, who marched directly against him not only with his own troops, but with a body of French auxiliaries*, let upon him, and retook the plunder which they were carrying off. In a word, the Scots army and the auxiliaries were not to be dealt with by any but by William himself. The English troops had from their frequent repulses begun to lose heart; but no sooner did he appear among them, than fears, like vapours before the sun, were dissolved: his very presence inspired them with a desire of fighting, while the enemy chose to decline an engagement. He went to the church of Durham, paid his devotion in the most serious manner, and enquiring into the antiquity and funds of the place, he confirmed it in all its privileges. In the mean time Malcolm retired with his army toward Scotland, and William thought proper, by a master stroke in the

* See Abercromby's Lives of the Scots Warriors.

art of war, to cut out work for his enterprizing rival, in the part where he least expected. Indeed William's army was extremely well appointed and numerous, notwithstanding the hardships they had gone through; he brought a very large reinforcement, composed from the best choice of men and officers, both Normans and English, entirely devoted to his interest, cordially affected to each other, and fired with an emulation to excel in the service of their sovereign, who was not wanting to animate them with a promise of rewards proportioned to each one's services.

Happily for him, he had ordered provision to be brought by sea, as there was no kind of sustenance to be found in a country lately pillaged by the Danes, stript by the fugitive inhabitants, and eat up by two armies at once. On board this fleet he put a numerous body of soldiers, and sent them to the coast of Fife, with a view to draw the Scots army out of England, in order to defend their own country. He kept with himself a number sufficient to prevent the enemy from penetrating into England without an engagement, and he had given orders for stopping every sort of communication. As the passage from Northumberland to the eastern coast of Scotland is but short, so the troops arrived upon it, and landed at a time when they were least expected, laid the towns under contribution, but did not march up into the country till further orders. Malcolm in surprize was advertised of his danger by an express from the queen; he drew off his army directly, and never halted until he had come within view of the enemy, who on their part were busy in persuading the country people not to serve against the king of England.

sooner had Malcolm withdrawn, than William shipped off the other part of his forces, and steered toward the place where the first had been landed before.

The two armies lay opposite to each other, high the little village of Abernethy, and at the foot of the Ochel hills: there were frequent and brisk skirmishes between the out parties, in which many were killed on both sides, and in one of these, which was pretty sharp and considerable, at a place called Denmure, the Normans were victorious; however, there was no general engagement, things continued in a state of uncertainty, and no less a lot was at stake than a crown; the two kings were princes of approved capacity: however, experience was on the side of the English monarch; the officers of each army were men of known courage and sagacity; the king's brother Odo and Osborn, his son Robert, with Roger Montgomery, and Henry Beaumont, attended his standard, as did Waltheof and Godfrick, with other Englishmen of consideration and power. The Scots army was made up of soldiers drawn from the different counties, and under their respective superiors and lords.

The use of firmames had existed in Scotland for some years, so that with the greater facility we can mention the constituent parts of Malcolm's army. M'Duff earl of Fife, a man of approved probity and goodness of heart, commanded the battalions that were draughted from the tract of ground interjacent between the Forth and the Tay; Patrick Dunbar earl of March conducted the battalions of the shires of Berwick and of Roxburgh; the earls of Monteith, Athole, Marr, Murray, Cathacks, Ross, and Angus, had the command

command over the squadrons of their respective districts; William Lord Douglass commanded those of the shires of Nithsdale and Galloway; and Hugh baron of Calder headed those of Nairn. The English auxiliaries were commanded by the earls Siward and Morcar, and the French corps was under an officer of their own nation; though all these were not such adepts in the art of war, as the choice body brought by the king of England, who never reckoned upon the number, but upon the goodness of his troops, yet they breathed a spirit of emulation to outdo each other; the English fugitives were to fight for a title, which they judged to be divine and hereditary; the Scots wanted to signalize themselves under a king, who had brought the first dignified titles among them; and the French were engaged to exert themselves by the common interest, that united the whole.

Happily for both armies the queen of Scotland began to feel for the approaching fate of her brother, and of those devoted to his interest, as well as for her royal husband; her mother and sister joined their apprehensions, and earnestly desired a reconciliation without coming to extremities; and so far prevailed, that Malcolm dispatched M'Duff to sound the king's inclination. Behold, all of a sudden M'Duff appeared in William's tent, with proposals for an accommodation; he told him, that an overture of this kind did not proceed from fear, but from a personal regard for the king of England on account of his singular merit and ability; that his royal mistress was the author of this application, and had not her sex prevented, she would have come in person to visit a king admired by all the uni-

verse

verse! "In this," said he, "I am more fortunate than my mistress, and should reckon it my greatest happiness to have an opportunity of learning under your majesty's direction what as yet I want to know in the art of war; the king my master always judged it more honourable to save an army than to destroy it; and since there is no animosity between the two kings, any difference on account of Edgar may soon be made up; the queen will help to promote the reconciliation. Peace or a battle is in your majesty's choice; if you prefer the first, then you conquer the hearts and affections of all that are in arms against you; but if the second, you can only subdue their persons, though not without an obstinate resistance, and consequently a deluge of blood." William heard the proposal with his usual complacency, and signified his readiness to settle matters with the king of Scotland, but at the same time declared he might have the pleasure of treating with his brother monarch in person. Accordingly they met at Abernethy (the ancient residence of the Pictish kings) a village equally distant from each army, and after reciprocal compliments, entered into a conference upon the articles of agreement; the principal of which concerned Edgar Atheling and his English followers. William consented to every thing proposed in their favour, and told Malcolm, that he would refuse nothing but his wife and his crown; which last, said he, I never took from him. I indeed wrested the sceptre out of the hand of a perjured usurper, and a love to my family will not permit me to sell it to another. Malcolm was convinced of the

the truth of what was advanced, and so the following articles were agreed to.

William's title to the crown of England was acknowledged by Malcolm, and by Edgar Atheling, and to be guarantied to him and to the heirs of his body by all the power of Scotland. Edgar was to be restored to his estates, and to be treated like a prince every way becoming his dignity.

All such as had fled into Scotland at any time were to be pardoned, and to be reinstated in their possessions, as the best and most loyal subjects.

Cumberland was yielded to Malcolm, and by him to be held of the English crown.

The boundaties of the two kingdoms were fixed at the forest of Stanmore, and upon the marsh was a stone pyramid set up, having William's effigy carved out on the side next England, and Malcolm's on that next Scotland, with the respective arms of each kingdom over each respective monarch; and by an additional article, such of the king of England's subjects as inclined to reside in Scotland should be treated with the same regard as natural-born subjects.

After signing these articles, the English army retired to their ships, and reembarked, while William went to Dumferling, in order to pay a visit to queen Margaret: he was received in the politest and most courteous manner, entertained with all the decorum due to so illustrious a guest, and the queen being with child, Malcolm assured William, that if his spouse was delivered of a prince, the same should be called by his name, and if a daughter should be born, the same should be called after the name of his spouse; and in a few months the queen was delivered of a daughter.

daughter, who was baptized Matilda, the same who afterward sat with her husband Henry I. upon the English throne.

This account seems to be more agreeable to the character of either monarch, than that Malcolm ravaged the northern provinces with great barbarity, while the inhabitants of these had fled for shelter to himself, and were but escaped from the devouring sword of the Danes; neither can it do great honour to either character to believe the chace of the Scots army through Galloway and the Lothians, facts which seem highly improbable from the situation and geography of the country: and though it be true that the English historians relate how Malcolm did homage to William for his kingdom, and though the tradition of the country people be, that there was a battle near the Ochil hills, in which the Scots were defeated, yet the silence of the Scots historians, with the settling of the limits in the manner represented, must preponderate, while the league subsisting between France and Scotland must be a demonstration of the independency of that crown. But be that as it will, many Norman families settled in Scotland about this time, or soon after, among whom Rollo the king of England's secretary, from whom is lineally descended that brave and intrepid warrior the noble lord of that name, whose exploits in reducing many of our American conquests have been found through the world, with several others*, some of

* The surname of Archer, Bertram, Bayley, Browne, Bruce, Colville, Corbett, Charles, Cummin, Disard, Frazer, Gordon, Grey, Haldane, Jarden, Kerr, Law, Lindsay, Maule, Moffett, Morton, Olfant,

of whose descendants have in after periods been
regaled in every clime for their bravery and for-
titude.

After this expedition, in which he conquered
the hearts and affections of those who were in
arms against him, he set out for London, and in
his way halted at Durham, where, upon enquiry
into the miseries and calamities that had fallen
upon the country, he found that Gospatrick had
corresponded with the insurgents, who had killed
Robert Curmin, and that he had been of the
number of those who had stormed the city of
York; for which reasons he was deprived of his
dignity, and Waltheof was created earl in his
room. Though he was posting to London, yet
he every where enquired into the state and con-
dition of the miserable inhabitants, whose rising
in arms against him he forgave from the consid-
eration of their living in the remote places of his
dominions, and at the furthest distance from the
court. He only punished with confiscation of
goods some of the ringleaders, who had defiled
their hands with oppression and cruelty, and
ordered a castle to be built at Durham, not only
to be a place of safety in case of any future con-
fusion, but for employing the poor; and this
magnificent and noble edifice is the bishop of
Durham's residence to this day. Other castles
and places of strength were erected in the coun-
ties which had furnished men against him; and
as Oxford had been the residence of Edgar Athel-
ling, so he ordered Robert de Olly, one of the
noblemen of Normandy, to build a castle there.

Jant, Riddell, Rose, St. Clare, Somervell, Wifeshard
Ward.

the same which continues to give lustre to the
place, and to adorn that seminary of literature.
So that having given directions for every thing
necessary to secure the tranquillity of his reign,
and to employ people who wanted bread, he, on
the first of January 1073, appeared in his capital,
where friends and enemies, in admiration of his
conduct, equally founded his applause.

O

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

Gregorius in the count of Normandy
the bishop of Bayeux.—A meeting on the
Norman front.—An account of the conquest
—The death of Pope Gregory.—The
—The funeral of William the Conqueror.
—The funeral of Robert the king's son.

SCARCE was he arrived at London, when
a multitude crowded upon him from every side
and he was surrounded by the most illustrious
nobles, as all had been long without seeing
him. The king himself in a hall
had formed the most magnificent
and splendid of his people.

THE
L I F E
O F
WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

BOOK VI.

Irregularities in the count d'Avranche and the bishop of Bayeux.—A meeting on Pennenden Heath.—An account of Canterbury.—The steps of pope Gregory to be absolute.—The tragical end of Waltheof.—War with the French.—The people of Wales and the conduct of Robert the king's son.

SCARCE was he arrived at London, when addresses crowded upon him from every quarter, and these were with the more sincerity and thankfulness, as all had been done without bloodshed. He now began to give a full career to the vast and extensive designs he had formed for the welfare and happiness of his people, and

united

uniting his Norman and English subjects in all the ties of affinity.

As many of the Norman officers had married the widows and heiresses of the men of property, who had fallen in the battle of Hastings, and that numbers of these were now no more, some having died a natural, and others a violent death in the course of the wars, so he endeavoured to have their room supplied by such Englishmen as he judged to deserve best at his hand, or to have done most service to their country. The example being once set, the manner of uniting together diffused itself from the court to the villages, and in a few months many young gentlemen, whose fathers had been stript of their estates, saw themselves possessed of large and of opulent fortunes; and the English were so taken with the scheme, that many of them conformed to the French and to the Norman customs. Every aversion was cast out by friendly correspondence, which was improved at the entertainments, parties of pleasure, assemblies and balls. The English and Norman taste soon mingled together; the former became enamoured with the manners of the latter, and from them learned the custom of shaving the beard entirely; whereas before this period they wore the hair of their upper and lower lip so long, that the same reached down to the navel: the hair of their head was cut round from ear to ear, and their garments reached almost to the ankle: their mutual diversions were studied by both, and the Normans were such adepts in the school of riot, of luxury and profusion, that many of them in a few months squandered away the immense fortunes that had been bestowed upon them; so that at pleasing a calm prevailed:

over England, as if the kingdom had never once been shaken by a storm.

The hopes that this tranquillity would continue, prevailed upon Edgar Atheling, and the other fugitives, to return into their native country; they were all received in so gracious a manner, that the king seemed to have entered into a resolution of making them forget their former hardships, by daily accumulating favours upon them. Edgar could not help acknowledging, that he had more reason to be displeased with the nation than with the king; and that the latter had never been an enemy to his pretensions, these being set aside at the time when Harold ascended the throne. Fully satisfied of this, he behaved with all the submission of a subject, and William treated him with the bounty of a parent, the care and tenderness of a king; and it is remarkable, that the former took care not to suffer himself to be hurried down the stream of extravagance into which many had fallen through ease and tranquillity.

Among the number of those who did not take care to contract their sails in this too prosperous gale of prosperity, was Hugh d'Avranches, and Odo bishop of Bayeux, both of whom gave a full career to luxury and riot. 'Tis true, the latter was never charged with incontinence, but the former exceeded in every kind of profusion; the most sumptuous entertainments, brilliant assemblies, concerts of music, and dancing, night serenades, and every other thing that could stimulate to corruption and lasciviousness; his house was frequented by the young and the gay of both sexes, nay, the kingdom was in a manner searched for the finest women to appear at these assemblies.

The

The king was apprized of the matter, but his own moderation and sobriety, which was never tainted, did not allow him to give credit thereto; besides, it was the single foible of this prince to be too indulgent to his friends; and he was so taken up with reforming abuses both in church and state, that he could not have time to enquire into the whims of individuals; for now the laws had their due course, the transgressors of them, whether Normans or English, were equally adverted to, and every day the people became more pleased with their king, who rightly judging that the clergy had it in their power more than any other set of men to form to virtue by precept, and to excite by example, left nothing undone to promote the salutary end; as Lanfranc was entirely of the same opinion, so these went hand in hand toward regaining the church that splendor and brightness, of which she was possessed in the golden age of the first christians, always taking care to fix men of learning and probity in every vacancy that did fall; and to render churchmen more beneficial, he procured that the sees of bishops should be transferred from villages to cities, as from Selese to Chichester, from Cornwall to Exeter, from Wells to Bath, from Sherborne to Salisbury, from Dorchester to Lincoln, from Litchfield to Chester, and from thence again to Coventry, and that of Lindassern or Holy Island to Durham; nay, residence, except in case of being called upon the business of the state, was made an unalterable condition of their preferment. The pious Lanfranc set the example; for except on cases of the utmost importance, he was never absent from his charge; a conduct which he judged to be most reasonable, since the place

place of his abode had suffered greatly from foreign and from domestic enemies.

As Kent is from Caer, which in the old British language signifies a wood, so Canterbury is the Saxon word for the city or pledge of Kent, and is by far the most ancient in England; however, we cannot be of opinion that Rudhurdibras, a British king, built Caer, Kent, 890 years before the christian era. Caesar, the most accomplished captain, and most accurate historian of his time, mentions no city, though he came to the little brook of Bridge at the foot of Barham-downs, where he mustered his army, and marched to attack the Britons, who entered into an agreement with him, and gave hostages for the more punctual payment of the appointed tribute. It was not till after this period that Canterbury began to arise, so as to be in very great repute about the year 340, and to be denominated the metropolis of Kent at the time of Augustine's arrival in England.

By the munificence of princes it became most conspicuous, in being the archbishop's see, and a seminary of learning. It arrived at such a height of grandeur, that about the year 1000, it had more houses, and was no less populous than London, containing about 43,200 persons within its walls, and so rich as to raise 30,000 l. to purchase a peace from the Danes, a people

* Matthew Parker, archbishop in the year 1563, showed counsellor Lambert the Psalms of David, Homer, and other Greek authors, beautifully written on thick paper, with the name of Theodore prefixed, the same who was a Greek by birth, the seventh and last of those prelates that had come from Italy.

who, after this composition, burnt and destroyed it in the most shocking manner, and put Alphegus the archbishop to death for not taxing the inhabitants beyond their ability. They killed nine out of every ten persons, both clergy and laity, sparing neither age nor sex, but pursued them among the altars, staining these with blood and with rapine; the edifice that had been in the time of the Romans the seat of the Archflamen, and had been dedicated to the name of our Saviour, and called Christ's Church by St. Augustine, was miserably defaced, and had not been repaired till the days of Lanfranc, who not only built it almost from the foundation, placed Benedict monks therein, the number of which he gradually advanced from thirty to one hundred and forty, but also restored twenty-five manors, which had been withheld from it; he also erected the hospitals at Harbledown, St. John, and St. Bartholomew, which he endowed with 140 l. per annum, and repaired the walls of the city itself on his own charges. This city and building were afterward blasted with fire, but still recovered their former lustre by the care and industry of succeeding prelates; in a word, this great metropolis was honoured with the arm of St. Bartholomew, a relique bestowed upon it by king Canute, with the presence of Augustine, named the English apostle; eight Kentish kings who succeeded Wightred were buried in it, as also a great number of archbishops after the time of Cuthbert. This place was famous for the numerous assembly that were present when William king of Scots did homage to Henry II. as also for the coronation of king John, with the several marriages of king Henry III. and king Edward I. for the pompous and magnificent

sificent funeral of Edward the Black Prince, and of king Henry IV. and more than all by the death of Thomas Becker, who had been canonized by the pope for insisting upon the privilege of the clergy to be subject, even in the case of murder, to no civil magistrate. The tomb of this haughty prelate was decorated by kings, and such an immensity of treasure was brought into it, that the riches of Midas and Croesus seemed to be "poverty when compared thereto." At this time the place, though far from its ancient splendor, is yet in a pretty prosperous condition, as being the thoroughfare between London and Dover; its inhabitants are neat and cleanly, the streets no way out of repair, and every day the trades of Lanfranc's goodness and assiduity may be seen in the great cathedral. The other decayed bishoprics were likewise established upon a fonder foundation than before, the privileges of boroughs were enlarged, and the country in general began to look gay under the constant influence of so indulgent a sovereign, who reduced the art of doing good to the public into a science, in every branch of which he shone with a distinguished lustre, and even in little things he set the most brilliant and laudable example; for when Editha the widow of the confessor died at Winchester, he ordered her corpse to be transported to Westminster, and in the most solemn and pompous manner to be interred near her husband, and caused a tomb of silver and gold curiously wrought to be built about their graves. She was a lady of great beauty and learning, most gracious and humble in her behaviour, and of a disposition so

• See Erasmus's Pilgrimage on account of religion.

in soil

contrary

contrary to her father, that it was a maxim:
"Sicut spinam rosam, genuit Godvinnus Editham."

There was now an emulation in the royal family to do good; the earl of Warren, the king's son-in-law, built the priory of Lewes in Sussex; noblemen and gentlemen in other places imitated the example of their sovereign, who, by repeated acts of clemency, now reigned more in the hearts and affections, than he did over the persons of his subjects, to whom he distributed justice in the most candid and unbiassed manner, an instance of which we shall give.

Odo bishop of Bayeux, being swelled with prosperity, had seized upon some lands belonging to the sees of Canterbury and Rochester, and had encroached upon the privileges of both. Lanfranc complained of the matter to the king, who directly consented that the same might be enquired into. He sent for Godfred bishop of Constance in Normandy, deputed him to represent his own person at the meeting, and ordered Egehc the bishop of Chichester, a man of singular skill in the laws and customs of the kingdom, to be brought in a waggon, as that prelate was old and infirm; he likewise commanded Hayno the sheriff of Kent to summon the whole county to give evidence, if needful, and at the same time charged Odo his brother to attend at such time and place as should be appointed.

Pennenden † Heath near Maidstone was the place of congress, as being in the center of the county, and most convenient for the purpose. On the day appointed, not only the experienced

* He was an Englishman.

† From Pinean, the Saxon word to punish.

men

men of the shire, but likewise the most skilful of other places crowded thither, and continued three whole days upon the enquiry; the result of which was, that Lanfranc and the bishop of Rochester should be restored to the possession of Detling, and the other lands which Odo had seized; and that neither the earl of Kent, nor even the king himself, had right to aught in any of the lands belonging to the archbishop, except in the case of a trespass, or a particular exigence of state. They found, "that if any of the arch-
"bishops tenants should dig any part of the
"king's highway, or fell a tree cross the same,
"to the hindrance of passengers, and be taken
"in the fact, or be convicted thereof by law,
"he should make reparation to the king for the
"offence; and in case he committed murder;
"manslaughter, or any other violence, and be
"apprehended in the act, he should likewise
"make reparation to the king; but in the latter
"case, if he was not taken, and departed with-
"out pledge taken of him, that then the trial
"and the reparation pertained solely to the arch-
"bishop himself without the king. The assembly
"likewise decreed, that the one half of the fine
"for procreating children out of wedlock should
"belong to the bishops;" a practice which, like
many others, was attended with such bad consequences, that in time the clergy challenged the whole, a nuisance which was removed in our own times; for now the churchwardens of every parish only take cognizance of such offences. Many other instances might be produced of the king's regard to justice, such as the impartial examination into the independency of the see of Lincoln, in opposition to the strenuous endeavours of the
primate

primate of York to abolish the same; with many others which we have not time to enumerate.

But while tranquillity and peace sat brooding upon the surface of the state, all of a sudden an express arrived from Matilda and the Norman regency, that Philip the French king hovered with an army upon the frontiers of Normandy, and that Folk earl of Anjou, and Houel duke de Bretagne, had entered into a treaty to wrest the province of Maine out of his hands.

The king, assured of the settled state of his kingdom, did without loss of time prepare to break the confederacy, and to drive the war from his own dominions into those of the aggressors. After settling a regency composed of Normans, at the head of which was Odo, he levied an army of English soldiers, with them to cross the sea, and to go in quest of the enemy, who no sooner heard of his setting foot upon the continent, than they abandoned the places they had taken: however, matters were not so fixed, as to admit of a sudden return, for he had an enemy to encounter greater than hitherto he had conquered, and in the subduing of whom he reaped more glory than ever had adorned his own brow, or had ever shone about the head of any other.

A legate from the pope appeared at that time in France, and proffered the mediation of his master between the contending powers, as the most unexceptionable; for many years the Roman pontiffs had been aspiring at the sole power both in church and in state. Alexander II. had summoned the emperor Henry IV. to answer a charge of simony brought against him by some Saxon noblemen and bishops, who had revolted from him in favour of Otho duke of Bavaria. Hilde-

brand his successor, known by the name of Gregory VII. inclined to be no less arbitrary, and to extend the papal power over all the christian states. He was a man of very mean parentage, and a still meaner outward appearance, dwarfishly low in stature, but of a lively, active, and enterprising temper, resolute in his schemes, and a despiser of all opposition; and what rendered him still more formidable, he was possessed of a wonderful prudence and foresight.

Of the several christian princes, Henry the emperor was the object of his consideration; he caused him to be cited before the Roman tribunal, he excommunicated him, he obliged him to come to implore compassion in the habit and posture of a penitent, and excommunicating him a second time, deposed him. He next let fly his thunderbolts against Nicephorus emperor of Constantinople, and Robert Guiscard * duke of Pouille; he degraded Bodeslaus from the rank of king of Poland; and from Poland he took the name of kingdom; he degraded a great number of bishops; France, Spain, and England successively repined at his strokes. Among Gregory's letters a plan was found for "giving the pope the sole power
"of deposing and establishing bishops, and that
"without calling a council; that he had an absolute authority to make new laws, as circumstances might require; to form new bishoprics,
"to change the chapters of canons in abbeys, to
"dismember such dioceses as were too rich, to
"unite smaller into one, and to transport bishops
"at his pleasure. By this plan his sentences
"were to be uncontrollable, while the decisions

* In English Wifcheart.

“ of every other judge was to be subject to his
 “ alteration ; that none but the Roman pontiff
 “ had a right to carry the ensigns of imperial
 “ dignity ; that he had the power of deposing
 “ emperors, of absolving subjects from their
 “ allegiance to a bad prince, of dispensing with
 “ the obligation to observe an oath ; and in fine,
 “ that a Roman pontiff, when once installed in
 “ the apostolic see, ought be looked upon as a
 “ saint, in consideration of the merits of St.
 “ Peter.”

However difficult it might be to gain a compliance to such demands, yet several circumstances tended to promote the ambitious views of the pontiff. Some princes were on the eve of extending their dominions, others of consummating a marriage within the degrees of consanguinity, and a third not entirely secured in their new conquests ; all such wanted to have the interest of the church. This was the determining motive with Guiscard to hold by feudal right the provinces of Ponilla, Calabria, and Sicily, and to take an oath of fidelity to the pope for them ; in all which, as appears from that pontiff's letters, he was invested with the same formality, as a prince does by his vassal, and the dependence of the kingdom of Naples on the see of Rome took its rise from this very event. Some bishops wanted more opulent livings than those they already possessed, others had a view upon bishoprics that were like to become vacant, and these became advocates for the new doctrines ; in many places upon the continent both princes and people enforced them with digested and elaborate arguments, which owed their weight more to the ingenuity of the contrivers, than to the right of

the thing; and to compleat the matter, Gregory, under pretence that the first kings of Spain had been consecrated by the Roman pontiffs, ordered a memorial to be published through France, that the kingdoms of Spain were only fiefs of the Roman see, and that if there were any adventurers so brave as to wrest these from the hands of the Saracens, who had possessed the same for several centuries, he would countenance the enterprize with his blessing, grant what might be acquired with all the forms of a legal investiture, and desire no more than doing homage, and paying a small annual tribute. Ebohus count de Rouffi accepted the general invitation, and in conjunction with his own vassals, the vassals of his friends, and some other potentates, marched to attack the Saracens. The pontiff heard of his march, and without loss of time wrote to the kings of Arragon and Castile, in terms much resembling the Spanish declaration made to the natives of America in the 15th century: "I believe," said he, "that you are not ignorant how that for many ages St. Peter was the proprietor of the kingdom of Spain; that notwithstanding the invasion of the infidels, who have possessed it for several centuries, yet the justice of the apostle's property cannot be disputed; and in a word, that the same belonged to the apostolic see; in consequence of which he had yielded to the count de Rouffi all that he was capable of conquering from the Saracens, on condition of holding the same of the church of Rome; that he had provided against any other conquest from the Saracens, except upon the conditions which he had made; and that with this view he had sent

" cardinal

“ cardinal Hugo with full power to treat upon
 “ an affair of such importance to the holy see;
 “ and if they should be so rash as to treat his
 “ embassy in an unbecoming manner, he would
 “ punish them, by letting fly upon them the
 “ thunderbolts of the church!”

Though the king of England was wholly taken up with suppressing the insurrections, and ordering matters so as for ever to extinguish all future hopes of his enemies, he was yet attentive to what passed among the neighbouring potentates, who all seemed to have some concern in the pontiff's proposals.

The legate, who had instructions to cross over from France into England, thought proper to wait upon William at Rouen, where he had the boldness to summon him, in the name of Gregory, to do homage for the kingdom of England, which was only a fief of the holy see, and to demand the arrears of the Peter-pence, which had not been paid for several years. The king, though absolute master of his passions, could not help discovering his indignation at the demand: he told the legate pretty warmly, that England was at no time a fief of the Roman see, and that for himself he held his crown only of God and of his sword, and that he was resolved to support its dignity. The pope's minister then began to speak of the censures and excommunications of the church, when the king ordered him out of his presence, and charged him never to return; he then published an edict, discharging his subjects, both English and Normans, to acknowledge any other pope than him whom he approved. This was wounding Gregory in the most sensible part, as Henry the emperor, who had seconded

William's views and pretensions so effectually, had set up another pontiff, under the name of Clement III. and had endeavoured to have his title recognized by all the powers connected with him: however, it must not be forgot, that as to the arrears of the Peter-pence, the legate was told that the matter should be enquired into, that all what was due should be paid, and that orders should be given for paying it more exactly in time coming.

Such was the genius and conduct of Gregory, and such the fortitude and resolution of William the conqueror, who had now perfected more than he thought of, and only resided in Normandy to be happy in the enjoyment of his family, to taste the pleasures of private friendship, and to make a collection of such laws and regulations, as he intended to introduce among his loyal subjects. But while he was devoting his time to these salutary views, a conspiracy was formed against him by his own familiar friends, upon whom he had conferred innumerable favours, and best-wed very large and opulent estates.

Raoul de Guaer earl of Suffolk had fallen in love with the earl of Hereford's daughter, the same lady whom William had a desire of marrying with the bishop of Peterborough's nephew Everard, whose bravery and fortitude in the isle of Ely he had so much approved and admired.

As the king was absent, the parties concerned thought they had a fit opportunity for accomplishing the projected union between the two families, and so the marriage was solemnized with vast pomp and magnificence, amidst a great number of English and Norman lords, among whom Roger de Breteuil earl of Hereford, Henry Beaumont

Beaumont earl of Warwick, and the famous Waltheof, who had shared the most distinguishing smiles of his sovereign. Unluckily for them, the heat of the wine animated the conversation, and one of the company observing to Guac how much he exposed himself to the king's resentment, by marrying without his approbation, some people took occasion to speak very unhandsome things of him, and pretended to lament the condition of the English in being reduced to slavery, from a state of independence and freedom; they took notice how he tyrannized over the Normans, by meddling in their domestic affairs, even in the disposal of their daughters in marriage; and that notwithstanding he had bestowed estates upon some, yet the exorbitant taxes under which they groaned, made it evident that he snatched with the one hand what he gave with the other; and observing the attention of the company to be fixed, he plainly declared how unworthy it was for an honourable people, whose liberty was spoken of through the world, to live under the dominion of a bastard, who had usurped the states both of Normandy and England.

These arguments, though unpremeditated, had all the effect that could arise from the best studied and elaborate harangues; the members of the company confirmed what was said, and Waltheof himself was almost gained over: they sent to the places under their immediate direction, and ordered the forces to be ready at a call; and next morning all, except Waltheof, retired to their castles, compelling their dependents and vassals to take up arms. So that the matter becoming entirely serious, Odo the bishop of Bayeux, and Godfrey bishop of Constance, did every thing in their

their power to defeat the insurrection; they sent a courier to the king, earnestly desiring his return, and in the mean time Uric sheriff of Worcester, Wolstane bishop thereof, and Walter Lacy, were dispatched with a numerous corps into Herefordshire, in order to prevent the junction of the Welch auxiliaries with the forces under Guzer: they were cantoned along the Severn, to keep the enemy at bay, until the army under Odo and Godfrey should come up, an event which soon happened, for these two able generals came in view of Radulph's camp, which was then at Cambridge; but he fearing the superior forces of Odo, and distrusting the goodness of his cause, retired with his troops to the castle of Norwich, and committing the same to the care of his wife, and of some others, on whose fidelity he could depend, he withdrew to a ship lying at Yarmouth, on board of which he fled over to Britany, leaving his followers to the mercy of a provoked enemy, who, without distinction, put to the sword all such as fell into their hands; for as the countess held out till terms of accommodation were granted, by which she was allowed to leave the kingdom, and retire to her husband, they were the more enraged: so that when the king returned in the harvest of this year 1075, he found nothing to do, except to make some few examples of publick justice, which, though against his own inclination, yet he was obliged to comply with the repeated solicitation of his friends: He ordered the earl of Hereford to be taken up, and confined to prison; some had their eyes put out, their hands cut off, or banished, according as their crime appeared to be more or less aggravated; but the greater part was spared

through the clemency and compassion of the king; and yet the case of Waltheof is every way deplorable.

That nobleman, the friend and confidant of his sovereign, however involved in some hasty expressions at the marriage entertainment, was yet far from taking a real part in the sudden resolutions of men intoxicated with liquor, and drunk with the chimerical phrenzies of their own brain. 'Tis true, that on the night when the conspiracy was first talked of, he went to bed apparently satisfied with what was proposed; but on awaking, he began coolly to consider the matter, and the more thoroughly he examined it, the more thoroughly the same was disapproved. He easily foresaw the improbability of success; that in the event of a miscarriage, which was inevitable, the king would be enraged; and even if the point should be carried, yet the state of England would not be altered for the better, since tyranny in many was not less dangerous than when vested in one.

Fully satisfied of the truth of these positions, he next morning remonstrated with Gnaer upon the matter, and withdrew to his own house, where he communicated the whole to his spouse Judith, who, having entertained an amour with another nobleman, wanted to be divorced from Waltheof. She encouraged him to unite with the revolvers, and as an argument, laid down a scheme for his ascending the throne. Speeches like these were not to startle a man of honour, resolution, and foresight; he went directly to Lanfranc, the archbishop of Canterbury, discovered the real matter to him, and begged that he

he would intercede with the king to pardon a rashness, which owed its foundation to the fumes of a drunken feast, and to inform the sovereign of his sincere and serious repentance. All which was agreed to, and so they parted in mutual trust and confidence of each other.

In a few days after a courier brought the news of the king's safe arrival at Dover; on which Lanfranc and the bishop of Bayeux repaired to him with an account of what had passed; and finding him particularly chagrined at the ingratitude and treachery of the Normans, who had converted the very favours they had received from him into engines for shaking his throne, Lanfranc thought this a fair opportunity for obtaining a pardon to Waltheof. He laid down the case of that nobleman, with all its palliating circumstances, and even seemed to have gained upon the king, who in the mean time convened such English lords as were in the place, and in their presence laid open the conspiracy, but intimated that he only intended to punish the ringleaders, one of which was fled out of the kingdom, but the other, the earl of Hereford, was still in England, having been taken prisoner. This lord was tried, cast, and condemned to death, after the Norman method, but the king changed his sentence into perpetual imprisonment. A circumstance so far from melting him down with remorse for his crime, that it rendered him furious and intractable; he poured out bitter curses and execrations upon the person of the king, who, being told of the matter, only lamented the man's misfortune, and taking occasion at an entertainment to mention his deplorable situation,

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he ordered a magnificent suit of cloaths to be sent him, both to sweeten his temper, and to alleviate his pain; but the incensed man only was more enraged, and commanding a faggot to be lighted, in the middle of the court of his prison, he with his own hands threw the cloaths among the flames. When this was told the king, he said with some warmth, " Since he loves confinement, let him continue so long as he lives;" an event which was accomplished, for surviving the king, he was by the sons of that monarch excepted from among the prisoners, who were set at liberty.

All this time Judith, the spouse of Waltheof, was labouring with artful insinuations, and the grossest calumnies, to spirit up her uncle against the person of her husband, and so far prevailed, that a select number of persons was appointed to try him upon an indictment for being concerned in a conspiracy against the life of the king. Many circumstances tended to sacrifice the innocent victim; several Norman lords wanted to share his immense estates, among them John Talbois earl of Anjou was desirous of having Northampton and Huntingdon, his wife Judith wanted another husband: so when the court sat, the witnesses, who were tutored by his enemies, swore so positively to the naked emission of words, that the evidence was irresistible. He was cast, and condemned to lose his head, a sentence that was executed upon him on the 31st day of May 1076, early in the morning, without the walls of the city of Winchester. He behaved with all the intrepidity of an hero, and of a christian, only lamenting that he was precluded from seeing his sovereign, who, if present, he durst say would be

be convinced of his innocence, notwithstanding the load of calumny and slander thrown upon him. He was buried in an obscure place, which afterward became famous, as the chapel of St. Giles was built upon it.

Such was the end of Waltheof, by far the greatest subject in England of his time, and such were the practices of his enemies against him. The journal of the proceedings on his trial have not come to our hands, though from the unanimous consent of the historians testifying the artifice of Judith, and the appointment of a tribunal by the king, it is pretty evident that the charge of treason was made good against him, to the indelible reproach of his spouse, who yet did not accomplish her end. She was deserted by her gallant, and though she and her two daughters had the lordship of Huntingdon allowed them, yet she soon had a difference with the king, who stripped her of her possessions, and bestowed them upon Simon Seintlez, a Norman lord of great probity and honour, one of a public spirit, he having built the castle of Northampton, and abbey of St. Andrews, two powerful recommendations to the conqueror, who encouraged the promoters of what might be for the public good. The infatuated woman might have been happy in Simon for a husband, as such a marriage was proposed; but a pretence that he halted in his walk made her slight the proposal. In the whole of this affair she acted with hypocrisy; and to crown all, she in fifteen days after the death of her husband, obtained an order for taking up his body, and conveying the same to Croyland, to be buried in an honourable manner; but Walketelus the abbot opposed the interment, for which,

and

and some other things, he was degraded from his dignity; an incident which brought the famous Ingulphus into England, after an absence of about thirty years.

This Ingulphus "was born in England, and of English parents, in the most beautiful city of London." He was put to Westminster school, and from thence to Oxford, where he studied the works of Aristotle, and Tully's rhetoric, with such care and assiduity, as to excel those of his age. He seems to have been of an elevated genius, and a fine spirit, which was cherished by some fortunate circumstances, whereof this was not the least. As he was coming from school to see his parents, who lived near the king's palace, he had the good fortune to be taken notice of by Editha the queen, who sometimes meeting him in the area of the outer court, would stop and ask him questions concerning his progress in letters in general, and his present lesson in particular; from grammar she would turn to logic, and with all the grace of ease would form a syllogism, which did not more discover her knowledge in that kind of reasoning, than the goodness of her heart in being afraid to ask the young man any thing that might put him out of countenance. As he answered with submission and sagacity, she would order one of her maids of honour to give him three or four pieces, then to be conducted into the parlour, and to be entertained.

This circumstance of being so particularly honoured by the queen encouraged him to prosecute his studies, that he might move in a sphere above the condition of his family; or, in his own words, he was desirous to be in kings palaces, and to

“ be arrayed in silks and gorgeous apparel.” Fortunately for him “ noble William duke of Normandy came to London with a grand and numerous retinue to visit his cousin king Edward;” and Ingulph getting acquainted with some of those about the person of the duke, he was employed as clerk to their office for the dispatch of business, in which station he became known to his highness, who treating him with his usual affability, he always made one of his retinue, while the king carried him on a party of pleasure to visit the towns, the castles, and the people of fortune in the country; and when his highness left England, he brought Ingulphus along with him, and made him his principal secretary of state, in which station he acted without controul, and ruled the whole court at his pleasure.

In September 1065, he, with the consent of his master the duke, joined in company with some clerks and secretaries, and ventured upon a journey to Jerusalem, whither many princes, archbishops, and bishops had repaired, and in his way stopped at Constantinople, to do reverence to the emperor Alexis, which being over, they took the road through Lycia; but falling into the hands of Arabian robbers, these stript them of a great part of their money, and then dismissed them. After a tedious journey they arrived at Jerusalem, where Sophronius the patriarch gave them a very kind and honourable reception, conducted them to the church of the holy sepulchre, shewed them our Saviour's grave, and the different curiosities that surround it. After some months stay, he returned by the way of Rome into Normandy, and being soon introduced to the abbey of Fontenelle, he received the habit of

a monk

a monk, with an intent "to purge and amend," as the grace of the Holy Ghost should inspire him, "the offences of his youth, and ignorance of his riper years." At this time the duke was at the port of St. Valery, waiting a favourable wind to sail over into England, and was receiving gifts from the several monasteries; and among others Ingulphus brought him from the abbot a present of twelve young men chosen and armed, and an hundred marks * toward defraying the expences of the expedition; he was very kindly received, and after finishing his business, returned to the monastery till the winter of the year 1075, when the king, recollecting his old trustee, sent to the abbot, desiring that Ingulph might come to England. He soon arrived in London, and waited directly on his patron, who received him most graciously, and conferred upon him the abbey of Croyland. He was immediately invested with the staff and pastoral office of the monastery, was consecrated on Christmas-day, and installed at Croyland on the 25th of January following. This account taken from Ingulph himself may be no less credited, than the representation given of this illustrious monarch by other historians, who will not admit that he put any place of trust or profit into an Englishman's hands.

Though affairs seemed to be settled, yet the king, whose eyes were in a manner every where, could easily observe a jealousy and distrust creeping in between the English and Norman subjects: they mutually blamed each other for the late conspiracy, though it be certain that the latter

* 200 l. of our money.

were the most guilty; the Normans about the king's person extenuated the conduct of their countrymen, and aggravated every incident that might hurt the latter in the eyes of their prince, to whom it was proposed, that now was the time for abolishing the English laws, introducing the Norman, and maintaining his crown and government by the stiff reins of rigour and severity. This advice was seconded by Odo bishop of Bayeux, who, having an eye upon the papacy at the next general election, had by cruel exactions and oppressions heaped up an immense treasure, in order to obtain his end, and by this means had raised more clamour and hatred against the king's government, than any councils or actions of his own. The English in their sovereign's confidence were of a different opinion; but being parties in the case had not been much considered, if Lanfranc had not supported their party; for in a council held in the king's presence, he represented how much his safety depended upon the satisfaction of his subjects; that of these the English were by far the greater part, both in strength and in number; that no people could be easy under any laws, but such wherein they had been born and trained up; that all innovations were odious, but none could be more so than this, as appeared from the general voice of the people; that the humility and calmness with which the English on all occasions addressed the throne, was more dangerous than if their solicitations had sprung from heat and from animosity, and so the refusal would be the more resented; that the laws and constitutions of this realm had been digested by the wisest councils, and confirmed by a long succession of their kings;

that

that under them the Saxons had been good and loyal subjects, and their kings, who ruled by these, had never been troubled with any seditions or insurrections of their people; that besides reason and experience, religion was concerned in the resolution, since the king had already sworn solemnly to observe the laws of the land, so as a change of them now would be taxed not only of injustice, but impiety; that nothing was of such moment to a prince as reputation, and none more than that of being a religious observer of his word and promises, but especially of his oaths, without which he could never be trusted by his own subjects, nor by neighbouring potentates.

These weighty reasons entirely determined the king, who, happy in the choice of such a faithful counsellor, and still more fortunate in his own disposition to weigh such advices as were most different from his own opinions and inclinations, he publicly applauded Lanfranc, and resolved again to confirm their laws and customs by a public and open charter, and thereby purchased the hearts as well as satisfaction of the English subjects, whereof he reaped the fruits in his succeeding troubles in Normandy, and in his wars with France; however, he could not but take notice of the attempts of his enemies to bring in the Danes, and observing that nothing could give a greater curb to the insults of these, than that the country should be adorned with some regular fortresses, he proposed that a strong fortification should be built at the east end of the capital; and this was the foundation of that spacious and regular fort known by the name of the Tower of London, the several great works of which were planned out by himself, and the direction

of them was committed to Gundulphus bishop of Rochester, an Englishman, the same who founded the abbey of Maling in Kent for nuns. He seems to have had a particular taste for architecture, for he built part of the castle of Rochester, and founded the hospital of St. Bartholomew there.

Nothing now remained to restore the public tranquillity, except the reducing of Guaer, who not only had been the ringleader of the late conspiracy, but had endeavoured to bring the Danish arms upon England, and had prevailed so far, that a fleet of 200 ships set sail from Denmark, but were all dispersed by a storm, and blown from the coast of England so soon as they arrived thereon. His disappointments only inflamed him, for now he was encamped with his vassals, and some troops furnished by his friends, near the castle of Dol in Britany, and had procured the assistance and support of Philip the French king.

As the English monarch was no stranger to the intrigues of the French court, so he hastened over to Normandy, from whence he sent a remonstrance to the duke of Bretagne, complaining of Guaer, and desiring that he might not be sheltered for the future; but no satisfactory answer being made, he put himself at the head of an army composed partly of Normans and partly of English, in order to attain by force of arms what he could not otherwise accomplish. He was soon within a few miles of the fortress, which was too strong to yield to an ordinary enemy. Here he was informed, that Philip the French king had entered the province at the head of a numerous army, with which he laid waste the country, and intended to cut off the provisions where-

with

with the Normans were to be supplied. In vain did the king of England seek the enemy to finish the war at once. The besieged saw him march off, but durst not stir from their fastness, and the French forces only attempted to harrass the rear of his army, of whom they cut off some, though with a prodigious loss to themselves. In this maroding war the French troops are said to have gathered by contribution and otherwise no less than eighty millions of livres, having fallen in with some of the conqueror's baggage. The friends of Guæter exulted in William's disappointment; his lady the countess of Hereford expressed herself in terms full of insult and detraction, glorying as much as if she and the forces under her husband had beat the king from the walls, which when he heard, he only lamented that a woman of so much resolution and spirit should be obliged to leave the place of her nativity, to be involved in the troubles and misfortunes of her husband.

As the French troops were averse to deal with the conqueror, so a peace was concluded between them on condition of delivering up the prisoners on both sides, and surrendering the places that had been taken by either party, and that Guæter was to have no further assistance; in a word, that every thing was to be upon the same condition as before the beginning of the war. Terms, however equitable at first view, yet such as would not have been complied with, had not he observed treachery in those whom he had loaded with favours, and even began to doubt the fidelity of his best and most intimate friends, nor was his jealousy without foundation.

His

His eldest son Robert, however doted upon by the queen, as being her first-born, had yet nothing in himself to recommend him to the distinguishing eye of his father. Nature had been sparing and scanty toward him; his tallness was below the passable size, and his legs were so extremely short and ill-proportioned, that he was called Courthouse, or Short Legs. But with all these unfavourable circumstances he was full of ambition, desirous of glory, imperious and obstinate, dextrous in all the feats of arms, and taking great pleasure in military exercise, he had acquired a reputation equal to that of the bravest captains; his brothers were jealous of him, and he was no less diffident of them. The king did every thing to render them cordial friends; but notwithstanding all his endeavours, Robert committed such indiscretions, as could not fail to confirm the unfavourable opinion formed of him.

As the king was at the castle of L'Aigle in Normandy for the convenience of hunting, it happened that one day he and his sons were detained at home by reason of the bad weather; the two younger sons William and Henry began to divert themselves with some innocent familiarities, and among other things they threw some water out of a window, which sprinkling upon Robert's head as he stood below it, he laughed at first; but some discontented courtiers, among whom Alberti de Grente-Mesnil, whom William had stript of some governments in England, being present, they construed the matter to be a gross insult, and so enraged the young man, that he ran up stairs with a drawn sword, in order to revenge the indignity. The king, roused with the noise, hastened to appease the disorder, but

his son's passion was too much heated to give ear to remonstrance; happily the door was shut, so that the father and the son had time to reason the matter; the former commanded as a father, and the other answered in the authoritative tone of a prince in his own dominions: he even proceeded to demand the investiture of Normandy, alledging that the same was promised before the expedition into England; but the king told him, that he had only made such a promise in case of death, or some other disaster; that Normandy was his paternal inheritance, and in the event of being thrust from his regal dominions would be an asylum to him; that he never threw off his cloaths, except when he inclined to sleep. Robert understood the allegory, and that very night retired, with such as he judged to be most faithful to him, and arrived at Rouen, whose gates he stormed without any ceremony, either through a confidence that Roger de Ivry the governor, grand cupbearer of Normandy, would receive him directly, or at least wink at his procedure; but in this he was mistaken, and having no time to lose, he broke open the prisons at Rouen, out of which he released all who were confined for crimes, and with these he retired into Upper Normandy, to wait a more favourable time for taking his revenge, well knowing that his mother the queen would be a powerful intercessor with his offended father, who generously imputed the whole to youth and to want of experience; for being now taken up with an affair of a tender and delicate nature, he was the more easily prevailed on to pardon the foibles of his son.

The princess Cecilia, his youngest daughter, having taken a religious turn, inconsistent with the

the ceremonies of the court, whereof she was the ornament by her singular beauty and endowments, formed a resolution of retiring into the abbey of Caen, which her mother had founded, and which was now brought to perfection. As the king saw her intention fixed, he was desirous of rendering her consecration every way conspicuous by some splendid assemblies and festivals. During these entertainments, one day a pilgrim was brought before him; he had been seized upon the frontiers of Normandy, in his way to the southern provinces of France; those who apprehended him laid nothing to his charge, as he behaved courteously, and like a stranger; but his graceful mien, and the ignorance he affected of the language of the country, raised a suspicion that he was no ordinary person, and William having discharged the English lords to pass over into Normandy without a passport, the guards laid hold of every suspected person, not knowing but that he might be of Guæter's party.

The stranger, by being in disguise, continued unknown for some days; and yet the care which he took to conceal his name, and the motives of his flight, only served to increase the jealousy already formed; nor was it easy to conceive how a person, who had all the air of dignity, could be overlooked in the choice which the king had made of those who were to attend him. At last the mystery was cleared up; for Hugh count of Exeter no sooner set his eyes upon him, than he recollected that he had seen him in arms at the Somerset insurrection, and knew him to be Magnus, the third and youngest son of Harold.

Being put in prison, he began to tremble for his approaching fate, and the Normans, who, notwithstanding

notwithstanding all the endeavours of the sovereign, were not free from the disgust which the French generally entertain toward the natives of England, began to satiate their imaginary cruelty with the view of seeing him go through the most exquisite tortures; however, he had a true friend. The king himself, whose actions and words were beyond those of other men, sympathized with the young man; he came to visit him, and instead of upbraiding him with his misfortune, or touching upon the conduct of the Goodwin family, he lamented that his proffers by Eadnoth, their father's quondam master of horse, should not have been accepted; in which case, said he, your brethren and you might have lived as happily at my court as Edgar Atheling, who had no cause to repent of the confidence reposed in me.

These words, uttered with a becoming sincerity, could not fail of raising the courage of the captive, who, notwithstanding the generous treatment he met with, had not laid aside the original design, which was the occasion of his being apprehended. He had undertaken a voyage into Flanders upon an invitation of his mother Githa, in order to put him in possession of the treasures she had carried out of England. She was the more anxious to see her son, as the place of her residence was now become the seat of a war, in which the innocent and guilty might equally be involved.

Robert of Friezland, whose extraordinary adventures we have already mentioned, did not enjoy peaceably the estates he had usurped from his nephews Arnould and Baldwin; for these, by the advice of Anselm de Mailly and Dreux de Cauci, who governed the estates of their mother

Richilda

Richilda countess of Hainault, had put themselves under the protection of Philip king of France, who marched an army to their support; but his troops were cut in pieces near Cassel by Robert's forces, and the elder of the nephews was killed in the engagement. On this he clapt up a peace with Robert, and left the countess and her surviving son to the mercy of their enemies; however, Richilda was not wholly destitute, as Githa, who for some years had resided at Bruges, formed a strong alliance with her, and pretending to be sensibly touched with her misfortune, she proposed a marriage between her and Magnus, and to gain over Henry IV. by bestowing on him some part of her immense treasures, so far as to procure his guaranty of her dominions, and her re-establishment in the possession of Flanders: nor did Githa's views terminate here, for she formed a scheme for drawing in the Danes to join in a descent upon England. Richilda being enamoured with what was to come, put herself and her son under the protection of the emperor, who raised an army to vindicate her right, and to defend the property of her son. Godfrey de Bossu duke of Lorrain, and bishop of Liege, received orders to march against Robert; but he on the other hand was so well appointed, as to be in no fear of an enemy: for the French monarch, being on the point of marrying Bertha the daughter of Robert's spouse by a former husband, had sent a great body of troops to Robert's assistance against the Imperialists, and these had no stomach to engage their united forces, so that Richilda and her son saw themselves abandoned a second time, and Githa had the mortification to lose the fruit of her endeavours; for Robert having left the

peaceable

peaceable possession of Hainault to Richilda, that virtuous matron broke off the marriage with Harold's son, in order to make sure of this remainder of fortune to her own.

Harold's son Magnus had heard of the marriage treaty with satisfaction, but his brothers Goodwin and Edmund diverted him from crossing the sea to finish what his mother had so well concerted for him; however, his mind was fixed, and he secretly withdrew from Dublin in the habit of a pilgrim, and going on board a ship bound for the coast of Flanders, the vessel was blown upon the Norman coast by a tempest. He put on the habit of a pilgrim, and in this he was seized, but after some time was set at liberty by an express order from the king; however, instead of taking the road to the south of France, in his way to Jerusalem, as he pretended, he was no sooner out of the confines of Normandy, than he diverted his course to Bruges, where he met with the greatest disappointments; his mother had bestowed a part of her treasure to no purpose, and his intended comfort was so much alienated, that she would not admit him to her presence. In the mean time his mother died, and he getting hold of the treasures she possessed at her death, he in haste repaired to Denmark, where he used all his interest to prevail with Suano to join in an invasion of the English dominions.

Great as the king of England was, yet he committed two capital mistakes in so easily forgiving his son, and in suffering the son of Harold to escape out of his hands, since both these created him no less dangers than hitherto he had gone through.

His son Robert had, after his repulse from Rouen, retired to Neufchatel with Grente-Mesnil, the count de Couchis, and some other lords, who had encouraged his revolt; he even went so far as to pillage the Low Countries of the province, and reduce some castles, even while his father was at Rouen; for Mathilda was so wrapped up in her son, that she took care to secure the different avenues by which information might be brought to her husband. She justified him by such plausible excuses, that the tenderness of a father, joined with the affection of a husband, diverted the king's attention, and people did not incline to meddle in an affair of such delicacy. At last Roger de Beaumont ventured to open the king's eyes, though not with the desired success; for Mathilda extenuated every action of her son so much, that William contented himself with sending some few troops to observe his motions, while he himself crossed over to England, where his presence was more than ordinarily necessary, and where several things had happened that yielded satisfaction, and others wherewith he had reason to be displeased.

No sooner had he landed at Dover, than he discovered a certain agreeable complacency in beholding the additional works of that ancient fortress; and as he surveyed these, he in a very becoming and princely manner declared himself happy in such subjects as delighted in tracing out things that might be of public utility; he distributed presents, and in token of his satisfaction with John Fynes the commander, he named him heretable constable of Dover, and warden of the Cinque Ports, with a very handsome appointment consisting of six and fifty knights fees, in order

WILLIAM the CONQUEROR. 247

to support his dignity as governor, and to keep the different parts of the fort in repair; but in the mean time he advised Fynes to bestow some of these possessions upon men of known ability and address, for the better preserving a trust of the last consequence. Accordingly Fynes took eight persons of worth and probity, as partners with him, and gave each of them an handsome portion of what he had received, though not till after he had bound them by tenure of their lands to maintain an hundred and twenty soldiers, twenty-five of whom were to watch in their turns, and the others to be ready at a call upon any emergency. The names of these eight commanders were William of Albrance, Fulbert of Dover, William Arsicke, Galfride Pennerell, William Maynemouth, Robert Porthe, Adam Fitzwilliams, and Hugh Crevequer; these had their particular places and turrets assigned them, all which they kept in the best repair, and many of them retain the names of their particular officers, who not only studied to embellish this fort, but likewise built castles and priories upon the manors that were bestowed upon them. Among these we cannot pass over the beautiful castle and priory of Leeds, within five miles of Maidstone, built by Hugh Crevequer. The situation of this noble edifice in the midst of a delightful park, and upon a peninsula, speaks the judgment and sagacity of its founder. It was demolished by order of Edward I. but again rebuilt upon the ancient foundation. It has ever been looked upon as one of the principal ornaments of Kent, and is now the residence and property of Robert Fairfax, esquire, a gentleman of real goodness of heart,

heart, a friend to the stranger, and, to the utmost of his opportunity, a father to the poor.

It would be needless to mark down a catalogue of the different places, which now were beginning to rear their heads, and with which the patriot king expressed an entire satisfaction; he surveyed the works carrying on at Rochester, and arriving at London, discovered the utmost complacency with the progress of the new fortification, and with the spirit of extending the city, which then so generally prevailed; nor was there the least alloy to this universal satisfaction, except on the western quarter, where a storm arose when it was least expected.

A prince of Wales had been on terms of marriage with one of Waltheof's daughters, which Judith the lady's mother not liking, she, after dallying for some time, at length refused her consent, and laid the blame upon the king her uncle. The people of Wales, like the mountaineers in other countries, are not disheartened by labour, nor groan under the toils of fatigue. Their wars had rendered them a seminary of soldiers, and the mountain of Carno, where the inhabitants of North and South Wales fought almost to the extinction of each other, continued a token of their resolution, and a signal of terror to their enemies; none but William would after such instances of their personal prowess have advanced to their country: he marched at the head of his Norman veterans, routed the parties that opposed his passage of the Severn, entered their territory, and even went to St. David's, and offered his devotion at the shrine; a circumstance which prevailed upon the people, more than a victory, to do homage to so great a prince, and to give hostages

hostages for paying him an annual tribute. On this the army returned just in time to support the royal authority, and to repel an invasion.

Cospatrick having obtained the title of earl of Dunbar in Scotland, where he had staid some years, thought he had a fair opportunity of exciting an insurrection in Northumberland during the king's absence; he even went so far as to stir them up to assassinate Walter bishop of Durham, under pretence that his lordship's chaplain had procured Leulphus, a Northumbrian nobleman, to be assassinated: Walter took refuge in the church of Durham, but this was surrounded by them; the dean, the priests, and other plenipotentiaries sent out to appease their fury, were cut in pieces; and at last the prelate himself, while covering his head in his mantle, was attacked from every quarter, and his body rendered but one continued wound.

On hearing of these outrages, the king dispatched his brother Odo into Northumberland with a body of forces; and he confounding the innocent with the guilty, commanded some to be beheaded, others to be dismembered, and all to be fined in sums beyond their ability. In this confusion churches were stripped of their ornaments, and among these a bishop's staff of sapphire stone, of inestimable value, but still more admirable workmanship; and after all was over, he put a garrison into the castle, and returned.

In the mean time Ferrick a Dane, and Magnus youngest son of Harold, made a descent near Boston, where they acted with great barbarity, and plundered every where. William came upon them while in separate bodies, and cut numbers of them to pieces; so that their leaders disagree-

ing, and blaming each other's conduct, they pressed to return to their ships, though not so suddenly but that they were overtaken, and the greater part of the booty was regained; though the two leaders got clear off, they returned to Denmark, and never thought of invading England any more.

So great an advantage could not fail of giving satisfaction, especially as the book named *Domesday* was finished after a labour of six years; for the king did not incline that the Norman tax-gatherers should over-rate the common people, nor that churchmen should inroach upon the demesnes of the crown. He had been informed, that officers of state had presumed upon abbey-lands, and other territories belonging to the church; to prevent these evils, he gave orders that twelve men of the best character, and longest experience in every county, should make out the rent-roll of the same; an enquiry the more equitable, as there was not a hide or acre of land which was not numbered, and the possessor was named. Every place was valued in the king's roll, the rents and profits, the possession and possessor were described to the full. In every place these taxors behaved with moderation; for Ingulphus declares that they were such well-wishers to the monastery of Croyland, that they did not estimate it to the full price or true measure thereof, but in their valuation they had a regard for the exigencies of the state, which afterward might be urgent. This roll had the name of *Domesday* book, from *Dome*, the Saxon word for sentence, because that in this roll the valuation of every spot of ground of all heretable and moveable effects, with the number and condition of every

every inhabitant, might be no less known than their most secret actions in the day of judgment. It gave the king an opportunity of remedying every grievance of the common people, and will be a monument that Englishmen were earls, barons, bishops, and knights in this illustrious reign. It shews likewise, that his annual income amounted at this time to about 400,000 pounds*, and as the army and navy were supported by monasteries, and from the country people, so with great propriety he may be said to have been the richest and most powerful king that ever swayed the English sceptre; and this immense revenue was for the most part converted to pious uses, or for the relief of the poor: all his actions were popular; when he appeared in public, the people in crowds raised the loudest acclamations: he took care to have the vacancies in the church supplied as soon as possible; and as the bishopric of Durham was of the utmost consequence, he procured William Kairlipho, abbot of St. Vincent, to be chosen on the 9th of November, and on the 3d of January following he was consecrated at Gloucester by Thomas archbishop of York, the king himself and all the bishops of the realm being present; for Kairlipho was a man excellent in wisdom, in learning, and virtue, and universally beloved by all who knew him. Under the auspicious direction of this patriot king did Hugh earl Ferrers found a priory within his castle of Tichburn, and the monastery of St. Saviour at Bermondsey in Southwark was amply and munificently endowed, so that a pleasing calm was now

* About ten millions of our present money.

over England, after so horrid and threatening a tempest.

But though the northern storm was over, yet another no less impetuous blew from the southern quarter, and raged in Normandy with unusual fierceness. The entreaties of Matilda could not prevail over the obstinacy of her son; he had already paid homage to Philip king of France for his father's possessions upon the continent; a French army marched to the borders of the dutchy in support of what he had done. William was apprized of the whole, and yet paternal affection blinded his eyes, till at last, upon repeated solicitations, he thought proper to cross over to the continent, and assert his rights as a sovereign. The late conspiracies of the Normans in England inclined him to take some English troops with him, as he could not trust the former; he accordingly mustered six thousand men out of Kent, and these had orders to repair to the sea coast, without being told the reason. The king came to review them, and all at once a fleet appeared nigh the place of rendezvous; they were conducted on board, and were with a fair gale transported to Dieppe, near to the castle of Gerberoy, which the French king had granted to Robert as a place of retreat in the event of a disaster; for the fortified places in Normandy had held out for their sovereign, people of age and experience continued inviolable and unshaken, while the unthinking only were caught in the snare.

As the French army was not far off, the king thought prudent to intrench his small body of forces, until a supply of Normans, whom he had sent for, should come up. These embarked on board some vessels, and soon arrived at his camp;

camp; so that by this junction his corps was upon an equality with that of his rebel son. He put the whole in motion toward Gerberoy, but on his march was met by the bishop of Beauvais, and the Abbe de Gurmer; these Robert had employed to intercede for him with the king, whom they found at the head of his guards, and in full march to attack the insurgents. On their first addressing him, they humbly begged that he would order the troops to halt, which being agreed to, they in very moving terms began to regret that his son Robert should have drawn upon himself the wrath of so indulgent a father; but at the same time insinuated what an hardship it was for a son possessed of the most shining qualities, and in the vigour of youth, to be removed from the management of business, which was in the hands of those who were born to be his subjects. By such expressions as these, they insensibly drew from the king an acknowledgment, that Robert might be employed either in England or in Normandy in a manner more suited to his birth and merit, and even proposed that his son should make an entire submission, in which event his complaints should be duly regarded, provided they were made with that humility and respect of which they had set the example; for that he never had refused to hear the complaints of a subject during the course of his reign. The prelates, whose commission gave them no power to enter into any engagements, contented themselves with making the strongest protestations of his son's repentance, and of his entire willingness to conform to the intentions of the king.

This was even more than Robert expected, and yet his impatience would not suffer him to wait.

wait the return of the two ecclesiasties; for under pretence of not daring to present himself before his father in the middle of the troops, until he had an assurance of pardon from the king's own mouth, he sent to desire an interview at a place equally distant from either army. The terms were accepted, and the place of meeting was fixed; but in the mean time William posted three bodies of horse, so conveniently as to join upon the first signal, and sent seven or eight couriers to watch the different roads which led from Gerberoy to the place of conference, with orders to haste away directly with the account of the minutest circumstances that might discover his son's real intentions; for he had heard from a deserter, that Robert would be attended with fifty of his body guard, who were to be followed by the like number. Besides, he had ordered three hundred men, whom he disposed into six parties, to rendezvous by different roads at the place of the interview; so that all his parties, when together, seemed to be of an equal number with that of his father, who was advancing slowly to meet him. All at once four of the king's couriers brought him intelligence, that they had seen several bodies of fifty men marching on different quarters. This prevailed upon him to retire to his main body, rather than to pour down with his cavalry upon the traitors, lest he himself should be branded with want of sincerity, one of the faults which he blamed so much in his son. All thoughts of an interview being laid aside, and Robert observing that his schemes for seizing on the person of the king were detected, he withdrew to Gerberoy, and there shut himself up, in hopes that his father would not attempt
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the siege of a fortress belonging to France, and which a French army was ready to defend; but in this he was mistaken, for the king was quickly at the gates of Gerberoy, which he invested, and soon attacked with such vivacity, that Robert, finding himself pressed on all sides, took the resolution of forcing his way through the army, at the head of some bold desperadoes. The king, apprehensive of the design, held himself in readiness to oppose the first sally, and being on horseback when the same was made, he hastened forward to that quarter, where his son was engaged in the midst of some of the English guards, who were then upon duty. His armour hid his countenance, and concealed his tallness; he spurred his horse, and pressed toward his son, who, on the other hand, pushed with his lance, wounded him in the arm, and with a second blow stunned him on the head, so that he fell from his horse on the ground. The two armies continued spectators of this encounter, and soon became pleased with the event. As the king fell, Robert discovered his error, and leaping from his horse, he raised his father from the ground, fell down upon his knees, begged pardon for his offence, and desired permission to return to his duty and obedience. The king received his submission, forgave him, and embracing him, each of them washed the blood of an almost fatal adventure in tears of joy and reconciliation. The father continued to fix his eyes upon the son, and he, as if by a signal given, mounted on horseback, and rode off, none of his own men offering to stop him, and none in the king's retinue shewing the least inclination to pursue. Had this encounter happened about twenty years before, or had Robert

bert been any other than the conqueror's son, he would have obtained more than a triumph, since there was not a man in Europe capable of bending William's bow, a man more dextrous and agile, or one of more real intrepidity; but now he was sixty-five years old, was bulky and corpulent, however, he gained the compleatest victory; his son relented from his rebellion, he himself mastered his own passions, his enemies were ashamed of their leader, and his soldiers looked upon him as their deliverer; so that of him it might be said: "Stravit humum sine clade victor." He continued to pause a little, with his eyes fixed upon the ground; his enemies beheld the event, and dispersed, leaving him in possession of the field; and he guessing rightly that his son had retired to the French army, withdrew from before Gerberoy, leaving Roger de Montgomery with a corps of observation upon the frontiers: he then marched to Rouen, where he was informed by his queen, that his son Robert had resolved for the future to sheath his sword, to quit the French auxiliaries, and what was still more, that he had resisted the most fervent solicitations to come into Britany, had refused the assistance of the people of Maine and of Anjou. She further lamented, that there should be any misunderstanding between such a father and such a son, and her prayers and her tears soon made an impression upon the heart of the king, who, in token of the most full and cordial reconciliation, wrote to his son Robert a letter with his own hand, inviting him to Rouen, and promising him every thing he could ask or think of, consistent with the honour of a king, and tenderness of a father. Robert, without hesitating a moment,

set out for Rouen with only two or three attendants, and was received by the king and queen with all possible satisfaction, and helped to comfort his father, after a very mortifying incident, which plunged him into an abyss of grief; so that he found a consolation from nature, which his victories and triumphs, with the other glories of his reign, were unable to afford him.

Mathilda the queen had, from an uneasiness occasioned by the difference between her husband and son, fallen into a lingering consumption, which at this time brought her to her grave. She was a princess of both good and bad qualities, being a woman of great beauty, and devoutly inclined, but was given to revenge, impatient in distress, and unreasonable in her choice of proper objects; however, the monks have loaded her with encomiums, as she founded abbeys and monasteries for their support. The king honoured her with a very pompous and magnificent funeral, and looking upon her death as the prelude of his own, he was observed never to have been so cheerful as before, and what heightened his sorrow, Richard his third son died about this time, being according to some gored by a stag in the new forest; to others, that as he rode in his chaise, he was caught by a tree, and suspended; but to others, and with more probability, that he died of a fall from his horse. He was a youth of excellent endowments, comely and beautiful in his person, lively in his imagination, and of great generosity of heart. He was educated under the eye of the primitive Lanfranc, and was buried at Winchester, having this inscription over his grave: "Hic jacet Richardus, filius Willielmi senioris Bernie dux."

About this time he was informed of an invasion from Scotland upon the English borders, on which he hastened over to England, and carried his son Robert with him, as an instance of his reconciliation; and to convince the world of his good opinion, he sent him to command the forces in Northumberland: Such precautions, however right with respect to the king, yet were in themselves needless, as the Scots nation had not broke the peace; the whole consisted in some insurrections and commotions among the borderers. Robert marched as far as Berwick, but neither could find nor hear of an enemy, for the few English insurgents who came from Scotland retired, and the Northumbrians dispersed, throwing the blame on each other. In the mean time William arrived in the camp, and taking a full view of the mouth of the Tyne, he ordered a beautiful place to be built upon that spot where Muncaster stood before, and to this he gave the name of Newcastle upon Tyne, a town of the utmost importance, a nursery of the British seamen, the support of London, and at this time so populous and well built, as to be the third town in South Britain.

The king upon his return was informed that his brother Odo, in order to obtain the papacy, had committed every kind of oppression, and had amassed prodigious sums for bribing the college of cardinals; he had remitted an immensity of treasure to Rome, both to furnish a palace, and to secure the majority of the electors; he had reached the Isle of Wight with the remnant of his accumulations, when all at once the king came upon him, and seized him by the neck, as he sought to hide himself, Odo struggled, but in vain;

tain; he loudly complained of being wounded in his dignity, and claimed the privilege of the church; but he was answered, "We don't lay hold of the bishop of Bayeux, but on the earl of Kent;" and so commanded his servants to be apprehended, and himself to be conveyed into Normandy, where he was closely confined, but with all the liberty of a state prisoner; he was served in a manner suited to his rank, and had the use of pen, ink, and paper allowed him, while his servants discovered such bags of gold grinded into dust, and buried in the beds of rivers, as astonished all who saw them.

These discoveries enabled the king to promote the welfare of his people; he ordered the laws of king Edward to be translated into English, and a vast number of persons, who were ready at copying, to be employed in writing them out. A volume of these, with such as had been enacted in his own reign, were laid up in every monastery and abbey through the kingdom, justice had its free course, and tranquillity seemed to have diffused its influence over the state, when all of a sudden the king was involved in troubles from his own family.

Among the ladies who composed the court, none was so beautiful and amiable as Waltheof's youngest daughter, then about sixteen years of age. The king, ever sensible of her father's merit, was now convinced of his innocence; the princesses honoured her in a particular manner, and Robert was captivated by her charms; they danced together at the public assemblies; she was his partner at the balls and festivals; they seemed to be destined for each other's happiness; the English loved the name of Waltheof, and rejoiced

in the prospect of seeing one of his daughters sit upon the throne. The king cherished the project so far, as to tell his son that she was no way unworthy of him; that her father had always behaved like a brave man, and at last fell a sacrifice to the ambition of his enemies; that if Providence had made a distinction in their condition, the defect was compensated by her personal qualifications. In this the king acted with his usual goodness; however, his son's views were dishonourable, at which his father was so exasperated, as to send for his son William out of Normandy, whither Robert retired in disgust, and in a short time entered into criminal machinations, which soon required the sovereign's presence to remove: he accordingly set out for his ducal dominions, where the inhabitants crowded to him from every quarter.

END OF THE SIXTH BOOK.

of the Danish fleet is scattered.—The French king's amours.—An account of Peter the hermit.—The king's sickness and death.—With his character.

THE

L I F E

OF

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

BOOK VII.

The Danish fleet is scattered.—The French king's amours.—An account of Peter the hermit.—The king's sickness and death.—With his character.

THOUGH peace reigned over Normandy and England, yet a storm arose from the northern quarter, which equally drew the attention of both; for Canute king of Denmark, with Robert earl of Flanders, and Harold's son Magnus, concerted an invasion of the English dominions. With this view a fleet of 200 sail loosed from Copenhagen, being joined by some few ships from Flanders. The united fleets proceeded toward the Humber, before the mouth of which they hovered for some time; but jealousy now

crept in among them, and they began to see the little prospect of success against a king, who reigned so much in the affections of his subjects, that they chearfully granted him six shillings out of every hide or twenty acres of land through the kingdom, an event which, as it endeared the people to him, so it further raised his attention toward their happiness and welfare, for he caused a further survey to be made, by which he learnt what quantity of ground every baron possessed, what was the quality thereof, how many knights fees, how many ploughs of lands, the number of vassals, of cattle, and what ready money every man possessed, from the highest to the lowest, and what every man's possession might yield; all which was laid before him and his council, to the intent that an effectual method might be found out for easing the poor of the public burthens. This was the custom he wanted to introduce; for the bishops, abbots, earls, barons, sheriffs, and other people of property were charged with the support of the foreign auxillaries, both French and Normans, whom he brought over to assist in this impending war, which being over almost before it was begun, the greater part of these were sent back, while the other continued with him, to be ready in case of any emergency, a precaution, though salutary in itself, was yet needless, as Canute and the earl of Flanders retired each to his respective dominions, and Magnus Harold's son did from this time resign himself to his misfortunes; for he and his brothers Goodvin and Edmund, with Githa their sister, spent the rest of their days in Denmark; and all died without issue, and unlamented.

This

This fortunate and victorious king seemed now to have passed all the tempestuous seasons of his life, and to be secure of repose for what remained. He was at peace with all his neighbours, obeyed and honoured by his subjects, dreaded by his enemies, and the troubles of his family were appeased; so that it was hard to conjecture from what quarter any new storm should arise, and yet it again burst, at a time when least expected.

The two princes Robert and Henry being in Normandy, they agreed better than associates in power usually do, governing the province with moderation, they reduced affairs to such order and tranquillity, that having little business at home, they went to pay a visit to the French king, who was then at Constance, and who received them with all the honour due to their rank and character, though not without design of exciting Robert to another attempt prejudicial to his father's dignity; but whether this was the case or not with the king and duke Robert, it was not with Lewis the dauphin and prince Henry, who were only taken up with the common entertainments of youth, and of leisure, gaiety, hunting, play, and other such amusements, wherein the similitude of age and of customs made them constant companions. It happened one evening that Lewis the dauphin, playing at chess in the prince's lodgings, lost a great many games, and much money; he grew fractious, and began to use ill language, which Henry returning, the dauphin flew into a passion, called him the son of a bastard, and threw some of the chessmen at his face. On this the prince took up the chess-board, struck the dauphin on the head,

head, laid him bleeding on the ground, and had killed him, if his brother Robert had not restrained him, though with difficulty. They went down stairs directly, mounted their horses with such as could follow them, and hastened to take the road of Pontoise, whose governor the count de Faulcon being apprized of the matter by a courier, he and Baldwin de Harcourt drew out their forces, and with these drove back the French troops that had been sent in pursuit of the two princes, into Conflans, where the king still continued to pass his time in the midst of entertainments and festivals, in order to divert his thoughts from a review of a late extraordinary event.

He had conceived a disgust against Bertha his queen, and endeavoured to repudiate her, notwithstanding she had bore him three children. Divorces were pretty frequent in those days all over Europe; marriages were dissolved on frivolous pretences; some because the parties were within the seventh degree of consanguinity, or because the match was made up by the parents before the parties saw each other. The first was Philip's pretext, and after bringing a vague and lame proof of his proximity of blood with Bertha, he sent an ambassador into Sicily, demanding in marriage the niece of the famous Guiscard, then King of that country; the proposal was readily embraced, and the young lady set out with a splendid retinue for Paris, where she arrived much about the same time with the princes of England, but to her great disappointment Philip was in terms with Bertrade, the daughter of Simon Montfort, and grand-daughter to the famous Amanry, who left the village of his name to Bertrade, and she being possessed of all the wit and

and elegance that can adorn a woman, had also captivated the heart of Reessin count d'Anjou, who employed Robert, the administrator of Normandy, to procure her consent to marry him. Robert undertook the business; for wanting the assistance of the count toward subduing the inhabitants of the province of Maine, he became so desirous of accomplishing the design, that in order to procure the consent of William count d'Evreux, the lady's uncle by the mother, he granted him several castles and manors, to which the house of d'Evreux had formerly made pretension.

Bertrade was in the bloom of youth, and in the meridian of her charms; she had heard much of the French king's taste for gallantry, and her ambition went so far, as to flatter her hopes of being the partner of his throne. In this mind she sent a trusty friend (if a man capable of bearing a dishonourable message be worthy of such an appellation) to signify to him her opinion of his discernment into the merit of the fair sex, and to insinuate the desire she had of making him a judge of her's. The king, who was no stranger to her character, set out for Tours, the place of Bertrade's residence, and was received by her husband with all the duty that could be expected from a subject. No way jealous of his sovereign, he was insensible of the impression which his spouse at her first appearance made upon the king's heart. The lovers all at once were fired with affection, and concerted the method of bursting the bars that stood in the way of their enjoyment; and, if we may believe Oderic Vital, they went on Whitsunday to the church of St. John, where, during the time the priest

priest was blessing the elements, they were observed to be rounding in each other's ears, as unconcerned about the solemnity. This was the place, this was the moment, wherein they swore a reciprocal tenderness and inviolable fidelity, in consequence of which he sent Bertha the queen to Montreuil by sea, while Bertrade the countess of Anjou without delay abandoned her husband, and in disguise hastened to Mevin, a place where a troop of the French guards were posted to escort her to Orleans to the king, who was now in the very heat of his irregularities.

During the time of these extravagancies, a body of Norman horse appeared before Conflans, and burnt it. The king and his mistress were obliged to fly in a dishabille, his troops were cut in pieces, and he had the mortification to witness their disaster, without being able to prevent it. His revenge rose in proportion to his sense of being affronted before the eyes of his mistress; he ordered the troops on the frontiers of Normandy to march toward Vernon, which they invested, but count de Faulcon retired into the citadel with 400 brave veterans, in order to check their impetuosity; and Robert, finding himself unable to make head against the numerous forces of the enemy, advanced with some troops towards Beauvais, which he took on the first summons. All this while the king was at Rouen; but on the news of the French invading Normandy, he sent a courier to England for a reinforcement, while he himself marched toward Vernon, to beat up the quarters of the enemy: however, the bishop of Beauvais, the same who brought about a reconciliation at Gerberoy, became the instrument of terminating this war without

without any further bloodshed ; for after a cessation of arms, a treaty was concluded between the contending parties, each of whom returned to their own homes.

Scarce was the king of England returned to Rouen, when his son Robert fell at his feet before him, and met with a most gracious reception ; the nobles of Normandy crowded about him, and some of them officiously insinuating that his brother the bishop of Bayeux was killing the tedious hours of his confinement by acts of enchantment and sorcery, he had the curiosity to visit him, and even to inform him of what was further laid to his charge. The prelate could not refuse, but confessed it, though the whole of the sorcery was no more than an anxiety to know who was to succeed in the throne, as Robert's obstinacy could not give them any hopes of his wearing the crown of England ; Roger Bigod, Hugh de Grente-Mesnil, Bernard de Newart, and Raoul Mortimer were equally involved in the same kind of magic, and became abettors of Robert's pretensions, which the king not favouring, he ordered Odo and the other prisoners to be more closely confined ; and this was all the punishment inflicted upon those who were conspiring and caballing against him. Indeed his son William, who was then in England, intended a more severe and cruel revenge, for he seized upon many of the chief among the nobility, under pretence of their corresponding with the Norman conspirators, and even in opposition to the remonstrance of Lanfranc shut them up in the castle of Dover, where they continued until the king's orders came to release them.

Such

Such inconveniencies occasioned not a little trouble to the king, who began to feel the infirmities of age creeping upon him; for just when he was upon the point of crossing over to England, he fell sick, and was carried back to Rouen, where he languished considerably. His attendants were touched sensibly with his misfortune, as were all who had heard of the fame and glory of his actions, the justness of his plans, or the alacrity with which they were executed. Philip was the single man to rejoice, and scoffingly said, "He only lies in childbed of his big belly." Great personages are generally most sensible of personal reproach; for William, on being told the satirical expression, said, "That his distemper might leave him, and so soon as he was churched of that child, he would offer a thousand lights in France, such as he believed their king would not be very fond of." Accordingly, in a short time he recovered, entered France at the head of an army of veterans, took the city of Maux, with many villages around it, giving as a reason of his conduct the continued enmity of the French king, and his sinister methods of spiriting up Robert to rebel against him. "The surest way," said he, "to destroy the wasps, is to ruin the nests wherein their eggs are hatched."

But while he was prosecuting the war with a success that bid fair for stripping Philip of the power of hurting, and was within view of Paris, where the enemy was retired, it happened one day that he came to a ditch of a considerable breadth, and being earnest to pass it, he strained his horse, and bruised the bottom of his belly against the pommel of the saddle with such weight,

and

and so much pain, as threw him into a relapse of his illness, and forced him to march his army back into Normandy, and to go himself to Hermentrude near Rouen, where his bruise turning to a rupture, he fevered, and his anguish increasing upon him, gave but too striking apprehensions of his danger; but though his pain was great, yet when the fever abated, he gave audience as usual, and even upon affairs of importance, among which there is a rare and singular example.

Among the pilgrims who went to Jerusalem, was a priest of Amiens in France named Peter the Hermit, who having observed the hardships of his brother pilgrims, and the imposition put upon travellers by the Saracens, informed the patriarch of Judæa that their cruelty to the christians would soon be the ruin of their state; that our Saviour Christ Jesus had appeared to him in a dream, and spoke to him in these express words: "Rise up, Peter, and haste to begin the business for which I have inspired thee; I will be with thee, for this is the time to succour my servants." As superstition is the companion of ignorance, the patriarch gave him letters of recommendation to the pope, and to the christian princes, and recounted the dream in the letters which he sent. Peter set out for Rome, where Urban II. who had but lately succeeded Gregory, was very desirous of marching into the Holy Land, to recover the same from the infidels, but wanted to appear with lustre, and at the head of 50,000 men. He caressed the hermit, and gave him additional letters to the several potentates; the only question was, whom to address first; for the French king being a slave to gallantry, and in the heat of his suit for a divorce, was not to be spoken with

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upon

upon serious matters, the emperor was at variance with the Roman pontiff, and the king of Spain was in no humour to comply. On all these accounts he thought it most prudent first to apply to the king of England, who heard him with complacency, and received the letters with his wonted goodness; but on perusing them, he told him coolly, that there were other christian kingdoms besides England; that by its situation she was not to be the first in any quarrel, nor to hurry into any enterprize; it belonged to the emperor, and to France, but, above all, to the pope himself to set the example to other crowned heads, not so much because these claimed a pre-eminence over other sovereigns, but because they were bound by the ties, which their attachment to christianity had laid upon them. “The bad
“state of my health,” continued he, “will not
“suffer me to embark in any undertaking; the
“differences between my children are a strong
“obstacle: however, you have free liberty to
“preach up your exhortations both to my regal
“and my ducal subjects; and perhaps you may
“prevail upon Robert my eldest son, who, ena-
“moured with the reputation of his grandfather,
“only waits an honourable occasion to embark
“for the Holy Land.” Peter took the hint, and directly repaired into Britany, where he found Robert, gained him over to his views, and with him a considerable number both of the English and Norman nobility. The king now found his end approaching, and from a sympathy of heart, he ordered the debts of all prisoners to be paid, and themselves to be set at liberty. All, except such as were committed for murder, and his brother Odo, who had oppressed his English subjects, were

were set free; and he even begged that his successor might abate the rigour of the forest laws, and be mild to his subjects.

He had committed the management of affairs in Normandy to William archbishop of Rouen, and those in England to Lanfranc, whose affection he honoured with the highest encomiums, on account of the faithful discharge of every trust reposed in him, but particularly for the generous and noble sentiments of virtue and morality infused into the mind of his son Henry, who, for his acuteness and proficiency in learning was commonly called Beauclerc, or the Good Scholar. The king took a delight in him, and became more and more astonished at his understanding and answers. He had only now to prepare for eternity; and perhaps no crowned head, since the days of David king of Israel, gave more satisfaction, than did this great and illustrious monarch. Oderic Vital has preserved to us the speech which he delivered to such nobles and bishops as were near him on the night before he died, and which is in these words: "My dear friends, You see me trembling under the weight of a long life, and being soon to appear before the tribunal of the Great Judge, my trouble increases as I advance to my latter end. From my infancy I have been trained up in war, and have stained my hands in blood! Who can number the evils which war has caused me to commit during the sixty-two years I have reigned, and the time of rendering an account is at hand.

"I was but nine years old, when my father, going into a voluntary exile, left me the duchy of Normandy, and these years have I passed

“ in dangers and fatigues. From what darts have
“ not I escaped? From how many injuries and
“ perils have not I got free? But if I have for-
“ tunately evaded the snares of perjury and vio-
“ lence, yet mine eyes have been polluted with
“ the sight of my dearest friends perishing through
“ the presumption of traitors and parricides.
“ Turchetil, who brought me up in my infancy,
“ Osborn the son of Herfast, grand sewer of
“ Normandy, and earl Gilbert, who by his virtues
“ and services was deservedly surnamed the father
“ of his country, with many others both dear
“ and serviceable to the public, have fallen a
“ sacrifice to the hatred of my enemies. These
“ were the first tokens of affection which the
“ Normans shewed me. My friends in general,
“ but particularly my uncle Gautier, have often
“ carried me from my dwelling in the night-time,
“ and concealed me in the private apartments of
“ poor men, in order to screen me from those
“ who sought to destroy my life.

“ The Normans, if governed by a wise and
“ steady hand, are brave, hardy, capable of the
“ greatest enterprizes, and of conquering any
“ enemy; but if not kept within bounds, they
“ are ready to tear and consume each other,
“ being naturally inconstant, given to sedition,
“ and prone to rebel; the ties of blood are too
“ weak to withhold them. Such as ought to
“ have acted the part of a parent by me, and
“ who by the laws of nature ought to have pro-
“ tected me, have often entered into conspiracies
“ to strip me of my inheritance.

“ Guy duke of Burgundy, the son of my own
“ aunt Adaliza, repayed my kindness with ingra-
“ titude. I received him courteously, honoured

“ him

" him as an only brother, and bestowed upon him
 " Vernon and Brieland, with other considerable
 " territories; but what return did he make?
 " After defaming my character, and publicly
 " declaring me a bastard, and the unworthy son
 " of my father, forgetting his oaths to serve me,
 " he proceeded so far as to take up arms against
 " me, at the head of some of my own relations;
 " but I conquered him; the judgment of God
 " overtook him between Caen and Argentau; he
 " felt the strength of my arm. I attacked the
 " fort of Brien, whither Guy had fled, and de-
 " livered my estates from the poison of that ser-
 " pent. My two uncles, Mauger archbishop of
 " Ruan, and his brother William, to whom I
 " had given Arches, and the earldom of Caligli,
 " forced me to the necessity of punishing their
 " treason; however, moderation still prevailed
 " over justice, which called for rigour and seve-
 " rity.

" What trouble and inquietude did the French
 " raise against me! Henry, taking advantage of
 " my infancy, in order to strip me of my heritage,
 " entered twenty times upon my frontiers when
 " least expected, and his first efforts were fre-
 " quently no less terrible than his threatenings;
 " however, he always returned with shame, and
 " with horror! What numbers of brave men
 " did he send to seek their death in Normandy!
 " How frequently has my sword, and the swords
 " of my soldiers, been dyed in the blood of the
 " French? Like furies they entered the county
 " of Evreux, from whence they ravaged to the
 " banks of the Seyne. Raoul de Mondidier and
 " Guy de Pontinieu carried a separate corps into
 " another quarter; they were neither slow nor

negligent in reproaching me. I assembled my troops, advanced at their head, and presenting myself in every part where they insulted my territory, never suffered them to take an advantage, which did not terminate fatally for them, until my troops had routed one party at Mortimer; and in the end I drove from my dominions the plunderers of my estates, and the disturbers of my repose.

In my present situation I will not indulge myself in boasting of my triumphs; but do you, my friends, know any who can glory in having conquered me? The excess of my glory has procured me enemies, but how can I call those enemies, who hated me for no other cause? However, thanks be to the assistance of heaven, on which I have fixed my hope, I never had an enemy who can be called a vanquisher over me. I might name the Britons, the Anjouans, the French, the Flemings, and now I may make mention of the English.

A royal diadem, which none of my ancestors wore, has flourished long upon my head; but to whom was I indebted for so great an honour? You know, not to an hereditary right; it was only to the favour of heaven, which hath hitherto prospered my arms. But to what fatigues and perils was I not exposed by this degree of grandeur? All Europe seemed to take up arms against me; Scotland, Ireland, Denmark, Sweden and Norway; and in the bosom of my own kingdom, was there a province which did not assist against me, and whose good-will I was obliged some way or other to purchase? The favour of heaven has only rendered me triumphant, and I have surmounted

“ mounted every obstacle; I have subdued all
 “ my enemies, and in peace, after so many troubles
 “ and embarrassments; the latter days of my
 “ life might certainly have been the most for-
 “ tunate, if the ambition of an ungrateful child
 “ had not prevented it; but I stifle my resent-
 “ ment, and in whatever part of the world my
 “ son is, let him know that I forgive him, though
 “ it be true that his ingratitude, and that of my
 “ brother the bishop of Bayeux, were the greatest
 “ distresses with which heaven afflicted me.

“ In the midst of the satisfaction which I feel
 “ in the present disposition of my soul, I still
 “ retain a lively anxiety to atone for the violence
 “ and oppression which conscience, that faithful
 “ witness, hath charged upon me: I therefore
 “ address you, O priests and ministers of the
 “ Lord, and beseech you to commend me to
 “ heaven in your prayers, to obtain the pardon
 “ of such great transgressions. I appoint that
 “ my treasures be distributed among the churches,
 “ and given to the poor, to the end that I may
 “ have the comfort of seeing these employed for
 “ the relief of the godly. You will remember
 “ how I have loved you, and how zealous I have
 “ been for your safety: I not only have never
 “ put an hardship upon the church, but have
 “ bore her all the respect that was due: I never
 “ let out benefices to sale, nor bestowed them
 “ for interest or favour: I judged by merit, and
 “ my uniform practice was to confer bishoprics
 “ upon the most worthy; of this Lanfranc, An-
 “ selm, Gilbert, and Durand, are living monu-
 “ ments, with many other pious and learned
 “ persons, whose reputation is extended far be-
 “ yond my dominions: these were the select
 “ com-

“ panions in my enterprizes. In the company
 “ of the faithful I searched for truth; and among
 “ the wise I sought after wisdom; the world has
 “ seen how I followed their directions. I found
 “ nine abbeys for men, and one for women,
 “ founded by my forefathers in Normandy; and
 “ you are not ignorant how these have been
 “ sustained and aggrandized by my benefactions.
 “ During my reign seventeen monasteries, and
 “ six nunneries have been erected. These are
 “ citadels with which I take pleasure to fence
 “ Normandy. If I myself have not founded
 “ them all, yet I have enriched them with my
 “ liberality, and have established them by the
 “ most favourable ordinances; and you know
 “ with what address and activity I have humbled
 “ their enemies.

“ These sentiments I have preserved from my
 “ infancy, and I wish that my successors, to
 “ whom I commit them, as an essential part of
 “ my heritage, may preserve them inviolable.
 “ These are the examples which I advise my sons
 “ to pursue.

“ After the battle of Hastings, which rendered
 “ me master of England, I gave Normandy to
 “ Robert my eldest son. He had already received
 “ the homage of the greater part of the barons,
 “ nor did I think of recalling an honour, which
 “ I had designed for him so long before; but
 “ indeed the country will be miserable that has
 “ him for a governor. He is void of temper
 “ and moderation, and often stands in need of
 “ being tamed; however, let him enjoy the in-
 “ heritance that is his birthright. As to Eng-
 “ land I appoint no successor, committing the
 “ disposal of that crown to the hands of the

“ Great

" Great Creator, from whom I received it, and
 " on whom I acknowledge my dependance.
 " England did not come to me by succession.
 " I owe my diadem to the favour of heaven, and
 " to the force of my arms ; and perhaps I abused
 " the rights of my acquisition, in order to do
 " myself justice on the opposers of my claim.
 " Harold, it is true, was a perjured usurper, and
 " deserved the punishment which heaven made
 " me the instruments of inflicting on him. But,
 " alas ! what a deluge of innocent blood has not
 " run in the punishing of this single criminal.
 " I treated the English who joined him with
 " rigour and severity. From reasons of state I
 " spoiled them of their substance ; famine, fire,
 " and the sword were sometimes employed as the
 " instruments of my resentment ; nor can I with-
 " out remorse call to mind the cruel executions
 " with which the Northumbrians were punished
 " for their reiterated treasons. I therefore will
 " take care not to dispose of a kingdom, which
 " I did not possess, but through depths of fa-
 " tigue, and seas of opposition, lest after my
 " death these evils should be augmented by my
 " successor's guilt ; but if I might be allowed to
 " vent my own desire, I could wish that my son
 " William, who was scarce ever from me since
 " his infancy, and who always behaved with a
 " filial affection, may become so agreeable to the
 " English, that these may chuse him in my place,
 " which he may fill with no less glory than with
 " virtue."

These words of the dying man drew tears from
 all the spectators, but particularly from his son
 Henry, who conceived an uneasiness, because he
 was not particularly named ; which the king
 observing,

observing, he called to him to come nearer, and said, "Don't be troubled, my delightful babe, "I love you for being my son, but more for your virtue; God, in whom I trust, will one day set you on the throne of England, and kings shall come from thee:" and indeed so it happened, for Henry was the father of Maud the empress, the mother of Henry II. father of king John, father of Henry III. father of Edward I. father of Edward II. father of Edward III. father to John duke of Lancaster, father to John marquis of Dorset, father to John duke of Somerset, father of Margaret countess of Richmond, mother of king Henry VII. father of Margaret queen of Scotland, mother of king James V. father of Mary queen of Scots, mother of king James I. of England, father of Elizabeth queen of Bohemia, mother to Sophia dutchess of Hanover, mother to king George I. father to king George II. father to Frederic prince of Wales, father to king George III. whom may God Almighty long preserve; for among all his titles and honours, it is none of the least to be lineally descended from so great and glorious a monarch, whose pious directions and devout ejaculations, even on a death-bed, would fill much more than a volume. Here we must draw the curtain over so moving a scene, and hasten to Thursday, September the 9th, when he fought the last and only battle wherein ever he was conquered; and yet there is something here to shew him glorious, even in this last and fatal conflict.

The physicians on the night before had given great hopes of his recovery; he seemed to be perfectly calm, his skin was cool, his complexion became ruddy, and his eyes began to look lively

and

and clear : he went to rest with all the symptoms of having got the better of his disease, and slept till one in the afternoon of the next day, when at the sound of the bell he started, and said with as much surprize, as if he never had heard the like before, What is this noise for? The bystanders replied, It is the bell tolling for prayers; so lifting up his eyes and his hands with all the fervour of devotion, his lips were observed to move, but soon they ceased and became still, for he breathed his last without so much as a groan; and though death had conquered him, yet she could not make him fall.

This unexpected event shocked the physicians; they fled off to their own houses, as if afraid of being suspected, and the servants in waiting retired on the same account; some were even so base as to strip the bed whereon he lay; and in this dishabille did the majestic remains of this illustrious king continue from one o'clock till three in the afternoon, when some monks and priests repaired to the room, took care to have the body decently covered, and then went to church to say prayers for the repose of his soul. A waggon was procured for carrying the body to Caen, where it lay in state till the day of the funeral, which was every way pompous and magnificent; the houses were shut up, the windows were hung with black, the nobles, the clergy, and the burghers vied in his encomium; the soldiers and peasants lamented for him, as for their father; grief filled every heart, and a ghastly despair sat upon every countenance; the very horses who drew the hearse seemed sensible of the loss, which England and Normandy lamented; the bishop of Evreux pronounced his funeral oration, and painted

painted out the virtues of the dead, and the duties of the living. Indeed it was an affecting scene to behold deluges of tears falling from the eyes of those who admired him, loved him, and lost him; and at the time of letting him down to the grave, the bells tolled so loud and incessantly, as to make the earth itself to groan, when receiving into her bowels the remains of him who ought to have been immortal.

Thus lived and died William duke of Normandy, and king of England; a man the most extraordinary that ever appeared upon earth, the strongest, the most agile, and handsomest man of his time, and the best skilled in the elegant exercise. In his courage he was superior to mens common ideas of valour, not only in the degree, but in the species of it; for his daring was at once so discerning and sudden, that surprizing and astonishing his enemies by the inconceivable boldness of his designs, he, by outstretching the extent of their apprehension, made resistance impracticable.

He was liberal to an excess of magnificence, and compassionate in the fulness of mercy. His clemency owed nothing to art, for he forgave men from a sense of their misery; or if at any time he pardoned upon motives less tender, it was when he despised the opportunities he had won, to cut off the most implacable of his enemies, lest his revenge should be thought to arise from an apprehension of their capacity to hurt him.

Nature formed him to govern; for she had impressed a command on his air, and given him an aspect that could dignify greatness; yet was his grandeur so amiably softened by the inexpressible sweetness of his manners, that though his

eloquence

eloquence was sharp like his sword, it seemed to borrow its force from his person.

Had any cold spirit the phlegm to withstand his address and fine qualities? It was impossible, even to such, to resist his good offices; for resolving always to be a conqueror, he had no sooner triumphed over his enemies by his arms, but he made war upon their hearts by his bounty.

So unwearied and various his virtues, that the memory of his subjects sooner grew tired in recollecting and repeating his triumphs, than he himself in augmenting their number: softer were his wars, and more gentle his punishments, than was the peace or pity of others.

So secure was his confidence in the faith and the virtues of men, or so sublime his contempt of disloyalty, that often neglecting conspiracies, when he had received full intelligence of their progress, he contented himself with but hinting reproach, and made the shame of the conspirators their punishment.

In what possible view can we consider this adorning of nature, wherein he will not be found as superior in the cabinet as he was in the field? Shall we consider him as a husband, a son, a citizen, a master, or a friend? We see him shining in every one of these different endowments: he was an astronomer, a mathematician, an orator, and a poet; but lest his character should be ridiculed by the votaries to some modern historians, I shall use the language of the great Sir William Temple, who writes, "that he was a prince of great strength, wisdom, courage, clemency, magnificence, wit, courtesy, charity,

B b

"tem-

“temperance and piety;” so modest as to refuse the surname of Great, though solicited by his subjects: however, some affects to be free, subject to no controul; she preferred him when alive to all his predecessors, and after his death succeeding monarchs gave him the appellation which he refused, his son Henry after ascending the throne, styling himself by the name of son to William the Great.

B I N N 6.



A
L I S T
O F T H E
B R A V E O F F I C E R S,
Who came from *Normandy* with
WILLIAM their **D U K E;**
and fought at the Battle of *Ha-*
stings, on *Saturday, October* the
14th 1066, as found in a Ta-
ble, that was deposited in *Bat-*
tel Abbey.

A.	Avenant	Amonervile
A Umerle	Abel	Arcy
Audley	Awgers	Akeny
Angilliam	Angenon	Albeny
Argenton	Archer	Aspremont
Arundel	Aspervile	
	A	Bertram

B. •	Belomy	Braunche
B Ertram	Belnape	Bolesut
Buttecourt	Beauchamp	Blondel
Brähus	Bandy	Burdet
Byseg	Broyleby	Bigot
Bardof	Burnel	Beaupont
Basset	Belot	Bools
Bohun	Beaufort	Belfront
Baylife	Baudwine	Barchamps
Boudevile	Burdon	C.
Barbafon	Bertevicey	C Amos
Beer	Barte	Chanville
Bures	Buffevile	Chauvent
Bonelayne	Blunt	Chancy
Barbayon	Beaupere	Coudray
Berners	Bret	Colville
Braybeuf	Barret	Chamber-
Brand	Baynard	layne
Bonneville	Barnevale	Chamber-
Bourg	Barry	non
Buchy	Bodyt	Cribet
Blondel	Berteville	Corbine
Breton	Bertine	Corbet
Belafise	Beleu	Conyers
Bowfet	Buschell	Chaundos
Bayons	Belevers	Coucy
Bulmere	Buffard	Chavorte
Broune	Boteler	Claremathis
Beke	Borville	Clarel
Bowlers	Brassard	Camnine
Benastre	Belhelme	Chaunduit
		Clarvais

Clarvais

Chantiloue

Collet

Creffy

Courtney

Constable

Chaucer

Cholmley

Corlevile

Champeney

Careu

Chaunes

Clarvile

Champaine

Carbonel

Charles

Chereberg

Chaunes

Chaumont

Cheyne

Curfen

Conel

Chaters

Cheynes

Caterny

Cherecourt

Chaunville

Clereney

Curly

Clifford

D.

D Enavile

Dercy

Dine

Dispenser

Daniel

Denyse

Druel

Devaux

Davars

Doningsels

Darel

Delabere

De la Pole

De la Lind

De la Hille

De la Vate

De la Vache

Dakeny

Daundre

Defuye

Dabernon

Damry

Davares

De la Vere

De Liele

De la Varde

De la Planche

Danray

De Henfe

Disard

Durant

Divry

E.

E Strange

Escutavile

Escriols

Engayne

Evers

Esturney

F.

F Olvile

Fitz Water

Fitz Marmaduc

Fibert

Fitz Roger

Fitz Robert

Fancourt

Fitz Philip

Fitz Villiam

Fitz Paine

Fitz A'ync

Fitz Raufe

Fitz Browne

Foke

Freville

Façonbrige

Frissel

Filiol

Fitz Thomas

Fitz Morice

Fitz Hughes

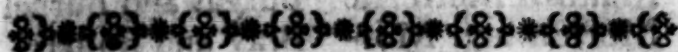
A 2

Fitz Hughes	Herne	Lindsey
Fitz Warren	Hamelin	Lotterel
Faunvile	Harwell	Longvaile
Formay	Hardel	Le Vause
Formiband	Hacket	Loy
Frison	Hamond	Lave
Finer	Harecord	Le Dispenser
Fitz Urey	J.	M.
Furnivall	J Arden	M Armillon
Fitz Herbert	J Jay	M Moribray
Fitchet	Janville	Morvile
Fitz. Joan	Jasparvile	Manley
G.	K.	Malebranche
G Argrave	K Arre	Malemaine
Graunson	Karron	Muschamp
Gracy	Kyriell	Musgrave
Glanvile	L.	Menilebillers
Gouer	L E Strange	Mortmaine
Gascoyne	Levony	Muse
Gray	Latomere	Marteine
Golsfer	Loveday	Monntbocher
Graons	Lagenton	Malevile
Gurly	Level	Mounteney
Gurdon	Le Scrope	Maleherbe
Gamaches	Lemare	Musgros
Gaunt	Litterile	Musard
H.	Lucy	Mautravers
H Anford	Lislay	Merke
Hastings	Longspes	Murres
Haulay	Longchamp	Montague
Hufy	Lastels	Montalent
		Mandure

Mandure	Olifort	Rynel
Manle	Oryoll	Rous
Malory	P.	Ruffel
Merny	Pigot	Rond
Muffet	Percy	Richmond
Menpincoy	Perecount	Rochford
Maynard	Perthale	Reymond
Morel	Power	S.
Morley	Paynel	SEnche
Montmartin	Peche	SeintQuin-
Myners	Peverel	tine
Mauley	Perot	Seint Omer
Mainwaring	Picard	Seint Amond
Mantell	Pudsey	Seint Leger
Mayel	Pimeray	Somerville
Morton	Pounsey	Sanford
N.	Punchardon	Somery
NEvile	Pinchard	Seint George
Neu-	Placy	Seint Les
marche	Patine	Savine
Norton	Pampillon	Seint Clo
Norbet	Poterell	Seint Albine
Norece	Pekency	Seint Barbe
Newborough	Pervinke	Sandevile
Neele	Penicord	Seint More
Normanvile	Q.	Seint Scude-
O.	Quincy	mor
OTenel	Quintine	T.
Olibef	R.	Tous
Olifant	Rofe	Toget
Oyfell	Ridle	Talybois
	A 3	Tuchet

Tuchet	V.	Vilan
Truslot	VAlence	Umframville
Trusbut	Vancord	Unket
Traynel	Vavasour	Urnull
Taket	Vender	W.
Talbot	Verder	WAKE
Tanny	Verdon	Walens-
Tibtote	Aubery de	ger
Truffell	Vere	Warde
Totot	Vernon	Wardebus
Tavers	Venables	Waren
Torel	Venoure	Wate
Tirell	Verland	Wateline
Totels	Verlay	Watevile
Taverner	Vernois	Woly
	Verny	Wyvell





A

CATALOGUE

Taken from the Manuscript of JOHN
BROMPTON, Abbot of *Jorval*, who
lived in the Year 1599.

M Andeville and	Ver and Vernon
Dandeville	Verdeis and Verdon
Omfraville and	Criel and Cardon
Domfreville	Danvers and Daver-
Boleville and Baf-	non
kerville	Hasting and Camois
Eville and Cleville	Bardof, Botes and
Warbeville and Cau-	Boys
ville	Waren and Warde-
Boteville and Stote-	boys
ville	Rodes and Denve-
Deverous and Can-	roys
ville	Auris and Argeoson
Moon and Bohun	Boteteur and Botte-
Vipon and Vinon	villain
Baylon and Bayloun	Malebouche and
Maris and Marmion	Malemain
Agulis and Agulons	Hauteville and Hau-
Chamberlain and	tein
Chamberson	Danney and de Veyn
	Malins

Malins & Malvesine	Burgas and Burnel
Morton and Mortemer	Bray and Botterel
Bravuz & Columber	Bifet and Basset
Seint Dennis and S. Clere	Maleville & Mallet
Seint Aubin and S. Omer	Boneville and Bovet
Seint Philbert, Fy-ens and Gomer	Nerville and Narbet
Turbeville and Turbemur	Coinel and Corbet
Gorges and Spencer	Mountain and Montfichet
Brus and Botteler	Geneville & Giffard
Crenavel and S. Quintin	Say and Seward
Deveroug and S. Martin	Cari and Chawatd
Seint Mor and S. Leger	Periton and Pipard
Seint Vigor & S. Per	Hardcour & Hanfard
Avesel and Paynel	Musgrave & Musard
Payver and Perdel	Marc & Mautravers
Rivers and Rivel	Fernz and Ferrers
Beauchamp and Beavapel	Barneville & Berners
Lou and Lovel	Cheyne and Chalers
Ros and Druel	Danudon & Dangers
Montabons and Montforel	Vesey, Gray and Grangers
Trussebot & Traffel	Bertrand and Bigod
	Trayly & Traygod
	Penbert and Pigot
	Freyn and Folliot
	Dapison and Talbot
	Sauraver & Sanford
	Vagu and Vautort
	Montagu & Montford
	Forneus

Forneus and Forne-
vous

Valens, yle & Vans
Clarel and Clavans
Aubeyville and S. A-
mour

Agos and Dragous
Malherbe & Mau-
dut

Breves and Chadut
Fitz Oures and Fitz
de Lou

Cantenor and Can-
telou

Brayfuf & Hulbius
Bolebex & Molyus

Moleton and Befil
Rochefort & Dolevil
Watervil and Davil

Nevers and Nevil
Henoys, Burs, Bur-
deron

Ylebond, Hylde-
brond & Helion

Loges & Seint Lou
Moubank and S.
Malou

Waze & Wakeville
Coudray & Kneville
Scaliers & Claremont

Beaumis and Beau-
mont

Mons & Monchamp
Novers and Non-
champ

Percy, Cruce and
Lacy

Quincy and Tracy
Stoker and Somery
Seint Jan & S. Jay

Greyly & S. Valery
Pinkeny & Pavely

Monthant & Mont-
chancy

Loncin and Loucy
Artos and Arcy
Grevil and Courcy

Arras and Crecy
Merle & Monbray
Gournay & Courte-
nay

Hantlaing & Tur-
nay

Hufce and Hufay
Pontchardon and
Pomeray

Longueville and
Longuespee

Payns & Pontelarge
Strange & Sauvrg
To

To this catalogue we may subjoin, that in the twentieth year of King William's Reign, the following Noblemen were still alive.

Count Eustace, who had lands in Kent, Surry, Hampshire, Somersetshire, Herefordshire, Oxfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk.

Earl Morton, an Englishman, had lands in Suffex, Surry, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Devonshire, Cornwall, Middlesex, Herefordshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire, York and Norfolk.

The Counts d'Ow, Roger, Alen, Hughes, Ebrou, Alberic, de Mellend, Yvo Talbot, Ferriers and Earl Seward, an Englishman; Hugh de Montfort, Richard, son of Count Gilbert, Hamo, Viscount of Canterbury, English; William Warren, William de Bullofa, William Fitz Ansculf, Walter Fitz Othere, Walter de Douay, Gilbert son of Ricer d'Aigle, Godfred de Manneville, Godfred Oriatcle, Robert Mullett, Humfrid Chambers, Radulp de Felgates, Alverd de Merlaber, Hugh de Port, Hubert de Port, William de Perry.

All these had estates promiscuously in the different counties, and we could mention

tion others ; but this may serve as a specimen, to convince the world that Englishmen born possessed opulent fortunes in this illustrious reign. The enemies of King William have, from misapprehending the Latin word Conquestor,* by which designation that monarch was known, been misled into the opinion that their country was conquered by the sword ; whereas the vocable means no more than a purchaser or acquirer of a right. This was the sense in which Spelman and other lawyers understood the appellation, and we may see deeds by Edward III. begin thus, “ Edwardus Dei Gratia Tertius post Conquestum ;” however I do not chuse to sully the honour of this kingdom so far, as to insist upon a nice discussion of the etymology of words, which every person, the least acquainted with the Latin language readily must own ; nor yet dwell upon a refutation of the ridiculous stories about the accidents that happened at his burial : the words of Sir William Temple are so truly noble, that we chuse to conclude with them.

“ Several writers, says this illustrious author, shew their ill talent to this Prince, in making particular remarks

* Harold was called Conquestor Angliæ. See Anglorum Jus ab antiquo. Page 39.

how

“how his corpse was immediately for-
 “taken by all his friends and followers,
 “as he expired; how the monks of an
 “abbey he had founded, were thereby
 “induced to come, of charity, and take
 “the care of his body and burial, which
 “he had ordered to be at Caen in Nor-
 “mandy, and in a church he had there
 “built; how the ground that was open’d
 “to receive him, was claimed at that in-
 “stant, by a Knight of the country, who
 “alleged that it had belonged to his an-
 “cestors and himself, and was violently
 “or unjustly seized from them by the
 “King; so that his funeral was then to
 “be deferred till an agreement was made,
 “and the value of the ground paid to
 “the claimer, with other invidious cir-
 “cumstances, which may argue the in-
 “gratitude, avarice, or other vices of
 “his servants and subjects then living,
 “but not defame the memory, or ob-
 “scure the glory of the dead.”

MVSEVM
 BRITAN
 NIOVM

